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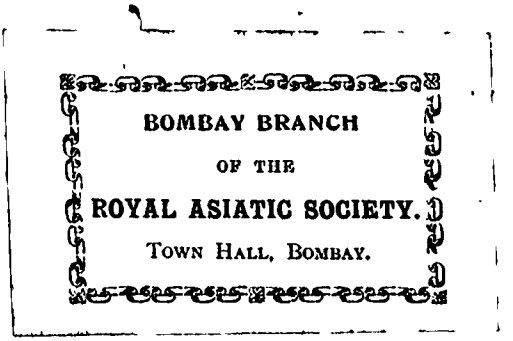

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NEW

CURIOSITIES OF LITERATURE

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AND

BOOK OF THE MONTHS.

BY

GEORGE SOANE, B.A.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CURIOSITIES OF LITERATURE.

THE MONTHS—JUNE.

THERE can be no doubt whatever that the English name of this month is derived from the Latin Junius, though in regard to the etymology of the latter the opinions of the classic writers are exceedingly various and contradictory. Macrobius * tells us that it was so named either

* Junius Maium sequitur, aut ex parte populi, ut supra diximus, nominatus; aut, ut Cincius arbitratur, quod Junonius apud Latinos ante vocitatus, diuque apud Aricinos, Prænestinosque, hac appellatione in fastos relatus sit; adeo ut, sicut Nisus in commentariis fastorum dicit, apud majores quoque nostros hæc appellatio mensis diu manserit; sed post, detritis quibusdam literis, ex Junonio Junius dictus sit; nam et ædes Junoni Monetæ Kalend. Juniis dedicata est. Nonnulli putaverunt, Junium mensem a Junio Bruto, qui primus Romæ consul factus est, nominatum, quod hoc mense, id est Kalendis Juniis, pulso Tarquinio, sacrum Carnæ Deæ in Cœlio monte voti reus fecerit. Hanc Deam vitalibus humanis præesse credunt. Ab ea denique petitur, ut jecinora et corda, quæque sunt intrinsecus viscera, salva conservet, et quia cordis beneficio, cujus dissimulatione Brutus habebatur idoneus emendationi publici status, exstitit, hanc Deam, quæ vitalibus præest, templo sacravit, quód his maxime rebus vires corporis roborantur; nam et Kalendæ Juniæ *fabariæ* vulgo vocantur, quia hoc mense adultæ fabæ divinis rebus adhibentur.—*Aur. Macrobii Saturnaliorum*, lib. i. p. 260, vol. i.

from Juniores, the younger part of the Romans, to whom Romulus assigned the defence of the city, or from the old word Junonius; or from Junius Brutus, because in this month Tarquinius being driven from the city, he in pursuance of his vow dedicated a temple upon Mount Cælius to Carna, *the Goddess of the Hinge* (Cardinis) who, according to Ovid, by her power opens or shuts all things.*

Amongst our Saxon ancestors this month had various names, and all of them much more appropriate than the one we have borrowed, and retained, from the Romans. It was called *Weydmonath*, from the German *weiden*, to pasture;† Medemonath; Midsumormonath; Braeckmonath, or Brachmonat, i. e. breaking the soil, from the Saxon *brœcan;* Solstitialis; Woedmoneth, i. e. weed-month; and Lida-erra.‡

The month opens with an abundant Flora, the *vernal* flowers being gradually succeeded by those which we may call the *solstitial* — the two *Yellow Day Lilies;* the

* Prima dies tibi, Carna, datur; Dea cardinis hæc est;
Numine clausa aperit, claudit aperta suo.
P. Ovidii N. Fastorum, lib. vi. l. 101.

The poet then goes on to detail the amours of Janus and Carna, but they are neither very delicate, nor particularly worth repeating.

† Dr. Sayers, in speaking of this name, has fallen into a most unaccountable blunder; he says "*weyd* is probably from the German weyden, to go about, as if to pasture." (*Disquisitions*, p. 255.) Weyden, or as it is now written, weiden, signifies to feed, to pasture; and the "going about," which he imagines to be the real signification of the verb, is nothing more than a necessary concomitant of the action. No doubt the sheep while feeding, or pasturing, are constantly in motion.

‡ "I can find no satisfactory account of the word *Lida;* Lida, or Litha, signifies in the Icelandic tongue, to *move*, or *pass over* (Gloss. to Soemundar Edda); and I am in some degree supported by Bede's remarks on this month, in conjecturing that Lida implies the sun's *passing its greatest height*, and that LIDA ERRA consequently means the first month of the sun's descent. Lida is by some deemed the same as *set-lift* or smooth-air."—*Sayer's Disquisitions*, p. 255.

earliest, or *Orange Lily;* the *Yellow Flag,* with various other species of Iris. The *Papaver Argemone,* the earliest of our field poppies, is now in blow. The *Monkey Poppy;* pinks of all kinds; and roses, both wild and of the garden, come forth in profusion; while the peonies are going out, the tulips fading, and the blossoms on the latest fruit-trees fall off and are succeeded by a full green foliage. The yellow colour of the fields still remains, and continues till the grass is mowed towards the end of the month, the *buttercup* (Ranunculus acris) being the latest of this genus. As the month advances we have *Clover* in blossom, both white and red; beans and peas putting forth their blossoms: *gooseberries;* the *Madock Cherry,* commonly called the May-Duke; cauliflowers and various sorts of garden vegetables; the *corn-flag* or *sword-lily;* the *Indian Pink* in full flower; and a variety of sea-plants, such as the *Sea-barley* (Hordeum maritimum), *Sulphurwort* (Pucedanum Officinale), *Loose Sedge* in salt marshes (Carex Distans), the *Sea-Plantain* (Plantago Maritima), among rocks on the coast; the *Slender-leafed Buffonia* (Buffonia Tenuifolia), the *Tassel Pondweed* (Ruppia Maritima) in saltwater ditches; the common *Alkanet* (Anchusa Officinalis), the *Narrow-leafed Pepperwort* (Lepidum Ruderale), the *Roman Nettle* (Urtica Pilulifera), in sea-wastes; the *Black Saltwort* (Glaux Maritima), on muddy shores; the *Sea Chickweed* (Arenaria Peplaides), and the common *Sea-Rocket* (Bunias Cakile), on sandy shores; and the *Perfoliate Cabbage* (Brassica Orientalis), among maritime rocks. As the month still farther progresses, *St. Barnaby's Thistle,* the *Corn-Rose* or *Red Poppy,* the *Doubtful* or *Pale Red-Poppy,* begin to flower and arrive at their greatest abundance about the solstice, from which time they continue to blow all the summer; *Pinks; Sweet Williams; Canterbury Bells; Deadly Night-Shade; Jas-*

mine; Scarlet Lychnis; and the great *Viper Buglos.* Some fields are still adorned with the later of the *Yellow Crow-foots,* while others are purple with *Sainfoin,* and in others again the haymaking has begun; the *Wheat* is tall and green; *our Lady's Slipper, St. John's Wort,* and the *Blue Sow-thistle* and *Foxglove,* or Digitalis, begin to blow. To sum up the Flora of the month in the words of a popular author,—" nearly all the plants of the Vernal Flora now remain in blow when not molested. The *Stinking* or *Oxford Groundsel* is in full flower. *Marigolds* are abundant, and continue all the rest of the summer and autumn. The Orange and some other Lilies are in flower; and in early years we may look for the opening of the *White Lily.* In the fields, the *Mallows* begin to blow. By this time the *Midsummer Daisy* is abundantly in flower, and in some places certain fields are as much covered with it as others are in May with Dandelions, Crowfoots, and Buttercups. The two latter of these plants continue to flower, and would do so as late as the middle of July were they not mown down in the grass for hay. The several sorts of *Corn Camomile,* and others of this sort begin to blow, and *St. John's Wort* begins to be seen in the hedges. The *Cistus Helianthemum* begins to show its yellow flowers by the way-sides; and the *Mulleins* or *Verbasca* to grow and show signs of flowering. The *Red Poppies* still paint the young corn-fields with their bright scarlet flowers. Roses and Pinks are still in the greatest perfection. Here and there in the fields the bright straw-coloured yellow of *Sinapis Arvensis* (i. e. Wild Mustard or Charlock) abounds, and its distant effect is beautiful."

In the early part of this month mackarel are taken abundantly on our southern coasts; some young birds of the early broods are on the wing, though hardly to be recognized in their first plumage; the Bat is now less

frequently seen than during the two preceding months;* the Cuckoo changes his tune, but often sings early and late, as in May, though usually with a hoarse note, and is heard, more or less, till July; the *Fern Owl* may be seen in the evening, among the branches of oaks, in pursuit of its favourite repast, and the Fern-chaffer (Scarabœus Solstitialis) is also abroad; the May-fly of the angler appears about the fourth, and continues nearly a fortnight, emerging from the water, where it passes its aurelia state about six in the evening, and dies about eleven at night;† in warm, dry weather the *Snake*, the *Viper*, and the *Slow worm* begin to be seen on dry banks and beside ponds; and frogs are numerous among the mowed grass and in the swamps and stagnant pools.

But it is more in the general, than in the individual appearance of things that this month is striking. The eglantine and woodbine have superseded the blossom of the hawthorn; the full concert of the birds is on the decline, and in two or three weeks will almost entirely cease till the autumn, though the nightingale, the woodlark, the skylark, the black-cap, and the goldfinch may still be heard; the clear shrill voice of the field cricket resounds on the wayside banks, where the sun falls hot, all day long and even at midnight, as he sits at the mouth of his cell chirping forth his cheerful though monotonous song. The woods and groves are in full foliage, even the old oak looking young in virtue of his new green,

* Bats indeed are more commonly seen flitting about in spring and autumn than during midsummer.

† It should, however, be recollected that there are many sorts of May-flies, and that the hour of rising from the water is not the same for all the species; some rise two hours before sun-set; others at different periods of the day: and others again, according to Cuvier, never see the sun, being born after he has set, and dying before he again appears on the horizon.

far lighter than the green of any other tree, while the wheat, the oats, the barley, and even the early rye, are all in flower, and all have the same hue, shifting into innumerable shades as the mass is thrown into different lights under the influence of the passing breeze. But the two most particular features of the month are the *sheep-shearing*, which commences when the warm weather appears to be settled, and the mowing of the grass, which of course begins at different times according to the place and weather; but we may assume about the twentieth as being the average period in the southern and midland counties.

We have next to consider the days principally distinguished by popular or religious observances.

Corpus Christi (Body of Christ) is a festival held on the Thursday next after Trinity Sunday, and was instituted in the year 1264 by Pope Urban IV. Various accounts of the origin of this feast have been given. According to one story, a certain female recluse of the name of Eve, a native of Liege, who had known Urban before his elevation to the Papal See, had a revelation on the subject; hereupon she wrote to the Pope requesting that this festival might be established under his especial sanction, to which he gave his ready assent in a letter, imparting his apostolical benediction to the devout supplicant.* Another tale has it that a priest of Orvieto,

* This story was originally told by Arnoldus Bostius, and is quoted by Baleus, who does not scruple to say that he looks upon it as the true version—"At Arnoldus Bostius, in epistola 6 ad Joannem Palæonydorum, *cui magis assentior*, hoc hujus negotii initium sic ponit—in patria Leodiensi (inquit) reclusa erat nomine Eva, quæ festum sacramenti, cujus ante illos dies nulla fuerat memoria, ab Urbano quarto per totum orbem solennissimè celebrari procurabat; nam et *exemplar literarū ejusdē Urbani ad dictam sororē vidi*. Hæc ille. Gallus erat Urbanus, et ante papatum, ut apparet, ei sorori quandoque familiaris.

while celebrating mass, doubted the conversion of bread and wine into the actual body and blood of Christ, whereupon blood immediately began to flow from the wafer in his hand.* The tidings of so great a miracle having reached Pope Urban, he in consequence established the festival of Corpus Christi. This legend however has been denied by others, who have imagined that the feast was instituted upon the petition of Thomas Aquinas, although no grounds have been assigned for such a supposition. But, whenever or however this day came to be honoured as a festival, one thing at least is certain,—in the time of Roman Catholic predominance it used to be celebrated with flowers, and lights, and music, and with the theatrical performances of those days, which have come down to us under the name of mysteries. Of this last fact we have a sufficient proof in the pages of Sir William Dugdale, who says that "before the suppression of the monasteries this city (Coventry) was very famous for the pageants that were played therein upon Corpus Christi day; which occa-

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Ex hujus ergo superstiosulæ mulieris diabolica illusione originem habuisse videtur hoc sacramenti solenne festum. *Scriptorum Illustr. majoris Britanniæ Catalogus* — Autore Joanne Baleo. Centuria Quarta. cap. xxxviii. p. 324. folio. Basileæ.—No date.

* Hospinian, quoting Panvinius, says "propter miraculum quoddam quod Vulsiniis, quam alii Bulsenam vocant, in diœcesi et ditione Urbevetanâ in Ecclesiâ S. Christianæ acciderit, ab Urbano IV. institutum fuisse. Nam dum sacrificulus quispiam sacra missarum solennia celebraret, sacramento jam confecto, de panis et vini transubstatione et Christi corpore dubitavit. Unde statim ex hostia, quam in manibus tenebat, vivus sanguis manare cœpit et totam mappam, quam corporale vocant, tinxit. Quo miraculo attonitus Pontifex Urbanus IV. corporale primum ad se ab episcopo loci cū processione in Urbē veterē transferri voluit, et illud solennitate institutâ in Ecclesia Urbevetana recōdidit ut in ea corp. Christi majori coleretur honore quā in quotidianis missarū solenniis. *Hospin. De Festis Christ.* p. 88.

sioning very great confluence of people thither from far and near, was of no small benefit thereto; which pageants being acted with mighty state and reverence by the Friars of this house (The Gray Friars) had theaters for the severall scenes, very large and high, placed upon wheels, and drawn to all the eminent parts of the city for the better advantage of spectators; and contained the story of the (Old and) New Testament, composed into English rithme, as appeareth by an antient MS. entitled *Ludus Corporis Christi, or Ludus Coventriæ.**"

The twenty-first of this month is the *æstival* or *summer solstice*, so called because the sun, which has now entered the first degree of Cancer, and is at its greatest distance from the equator, appears to *stand still*. It is of course the longest day in the year, and makes the beginning of the real or astronomical summer.

Midsummer Eve, *the Vigil of Saint John the Baptist's Day.—June* 23. Properly speaking, Midsummer Day denotes the time of the summer solstice, and is not, as many from its name have supposed, connected at all with the idea of *middle*, though it seems hardly possible to assign any thing like a rational derivation to the word *mid*. In old English, as in the German *mit*, from which it may have been derived, *mid* signified *with*, and adopting Horne Tooke's mode of viewing the prepositions, it had possibly some relation to commencement. Be this as it may, Midsummer Day is now generally understood to imply the twenty-fourth; this change having arisen from the errors and improvements in the calendar, though, as we shall presently see, all the ceremonies, appropriated to it by the Catholics, are in reality nothing more than the old Pagan mode of celebrating the return of summer.

On the eve of Saint John it was customary, among

* Sir W. Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire — Knightlow Hundred, p. 183, fol. London, 1730.

other observances, to light large bonfires, which at one time were chiefly made of bones and other impurities, if we may believe the Catholic writers on the subject. With them indeed these bonfires had an especial meaning, or perhaps I should rather say they endeavoured to make of the custom a Christian type and symbol, in order to conceal its Pagan origin. For the existence of it we have authorities innumerable. To quote from one only; Durandus has recorded,* that men and boys collect bones and other impurities, which they burn, and also carry about burning torches. But it is in the reasons assigned for these observances that we are most called upon to admire the inexhaustible fertility of the author's inventive powers, and his determination at any price to

* In quibusdam partib. ex antiquâ observatione colligunt hõies et pueri ossa et quædam alia immunda et insimul cremant ut exinde fumum in aerẽ producãt. Ferunt etiam brandas, sive faces, et cum illis circuunt arva. Tertium est, quia rotam volvunt. Qui immunda cremant et fumum in altum produci faciunt, habẽt hoc a Gentibus. Antiquitus ñ dracones, hoc tempore ad libidinem propter calorem excitati, volando per aerem frequẽter in puteos et fontes spermizabãt, ex quo inficiebãtur aquæ, et tũc erat annus lætalis ex aeris et aquarum corruptione, quia quicunque inde bibebant, moriebantur aut gravem morbum patiebãtur, q̃d attendentes philosophi, ignem jusserũt frequẽter et passim circa puteas et fontes fieri, et immũda. et quæcunque immũdum redderẽt fumũ ibi cremari. Nanque per talem fumum sciebant posse fugari dracones, et qã tali hoc tẽpore maxime fiebant, ideo hoc adhuc ab aliquibus observatur... Est etiam alia ratio quare ossa animalium comburuntur, videlicet in memoriam q̃ ossa Joannis Baptistæ a Gentibus in civitate Sebastæ combusta fuerũt. Vel potest hoc referri ad Novum Testamentum; abjiciunt ñ pueri vetera et cõburunt ad significandum q̃ adveniente nova lege vetus testamentum debet cessãre. Dictũ est ñ vetustissima veterum nõn comederis et novis superveniẽtibus vetera projicietis. Feruntur quoq. brandæ, seu faces ardentes, et fiunt ignes, qui significãt sanctum Joannem, qui fuit lumen et lucerna ardens, et præcedens et præcursor veræ lucis, quæ illuminat omnem hominẽ venientem in hunc mundum. *Durand.* lib. vii. cap. 14. p. 292.

convert Paganism into Christianity. Thus he supposes that these bonfires might be lighted to drive away the dragons, who at this time of the year are flying about in swarms, and who might else drop their spawn into the rivers to the great detriment of water-drinkers and the poisoning of the air in general—or it might be that such conflagrations were intended as a memorial that the heathens burnt the bones of Saint John at Sebaste—or it might signify that on the coming of the new law, the old should cease. Then again the torches are borne about to signify that John was a burning light himself,* and the preserver of the light that was to illuminate all, a mode of argument that is absolutely unanswerable.

I have quoted this learned trash merely because a portion of it has a shadowy—and perhaps accidental—allusion to the ancient myth. The notion of lighting fires to keep off the dragons bears, or seems to bear, a striking analogy to the old solstitial creed, as typified by Hercules slaying the dragons. This matter has been well explained by Gebelin.† The solstices were called the

* This too was the opinion of the late Roman Catholic bishop, Dr. Milner, a man of considerable learning and ingenuity, but not over-scrupulous as to truth when it was opposed to his own peculiar tenets. In the teeth of all reason and sound argument he maintains that the Irish never worshipped Baal. See "An Inquiry into certain vulgar opinions concerning the Catholic Inhabitants and the Antiquities of Ireland." 8vo. London, 1808.

† "Nous avons donc ici une allégorie fortement caracterisée par tous ces traits.

1° Deux Dragons étranglés par Hercule.

2° A l'age de dix mois.

3° A minuit.

4° Et jettés dans un feu avec des ceremonies propitiatoires.

A ces characteres, on ne peut manquer le mot de l'enigme.

L'on se rapellera sans doute que le symbole de Mercure, le Caducée, est composé de deux Dragons etranglés par le milieu, l'un male

head and tail of the dragon, and the caduceus of Mercury is composed of two dragons strangled at the middle, the one male, the other female; the point of union was called Hercules, and Mercury was the inventor of astronomy. The strangling of the two dragons then by Hercules is an allegory relative to the caduceus, or the subject represented by it, and is intimately connected with the year of the agriculturist, of which it makes the commencement. Now if we adopt this ingenious solution of the classic allegory, we can not fail to see the connection between the old and the more modern superstition. The dragons of Hercules were but types of the solstices, and the dragons of popery, borrowed from the same fable, are but emblems of the same thing. The fires of course were intended, as Gebelin well observes, to express the joy of the people at the commencement of the year, for June in the early times was considered to be its commencement. But I cannot agree with him that the custom, which prevailed of dancing about the fires and leaping over them was in early times * the

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l'autre femelle; que leur point de réunion s'apelloit Hercule; et que Mercure fut l'inventeur de l'astronomie ou du Calendrier.

L'etranglement de deux dragons par Hercule n'est donc qu'une allegorie relative au Caducée, ou à l'objet qu'il peignoit, et lié étroitement avec l'année du laboureur dont il faisoit l'ouverture.

Mais à quel jour de l'année, à quel moment est attaché le Caducée? Les anciens nous l'apprennent, en apellant les Solstices, *Tete et quene de Dragon.*"—Monde Primitif par M. C. De Gebelin —Histoire D'Hercule, p. 203. 4to. Paris, 1773.

* I do not, however mean to dispute, that when the original signification of these bonfires had been forgotten, the custom was retained merely by way of a joyful festival. The proofs of this are abundant in our own country. The popular expression of "Dance round our coal-fire" is a vestige of it; and so late as 1733 the practice was observed at an entertainment in the Inner Temple Hall, as we read in Wynne's *Eunomus* (vol. iv. p. 107.)—"After the play, the Lord

result of joy, or merely to show agility. Still less can I agree with Moresin,* that this custom is a relic of the ordeal, according to which he who passed safely through the flames was held to be innocent; for the bonfires are a much more ancient observance than the ordeal. It is, I should rather imagine, a religious rite of very remote origin, such as I have already spoken of under the month of May, and I need now only add that a similar custom prevailed in the Cerealia, and is also mentioned in Ovid's Fasti, as being of the superstitious ceremonies used in the *Palilia*, or feasts of Pales the presiding Goddess of gardens.†

Chancellor, Master of the Temple, Judges, and Benchers, retired into their Parliament chamber; and in about half an hour afterwards, came into the hall again, and a large ring was formed round the fireplace, but no fire nor embers were on it. Then the master of the revels, who went first, took the Lord Chancellor by the right hand; and he with his left took Mr. J. Page, who, joined to the other judges, serjeants, and benchers, danced, or rather walked, *round about the* coal-fire, according to the old ceremony, three times, during which they were aided by Mr. George Cooke, the prothonotary, then upwards of 60; and all the time of the dance, the *antient song*, accompanied with music, was sung by one Toby Aston, dressed in a bar gown, whose father had been formerly master of the Plea Office in the King's Bench."

* "Flammam transiliendi mos videtur etiam priscis Græciæ temporibus usurpatus fuisse, deque eo versus Sophoclis in Antigone quidam intelligendos putant. Cum enim rex Creon Polynicis cadaver humare prohibuisset, Antigone autem ipsius soror illud humo contexisset, custodes, ut mortis pœnam à rege constitutam vitarent, dicebant se paratos esse ferrum candens manibus contrectare et per pyram incedere. Hotoman. *Disput. De Feudis*, cap. 44. Hic mos Gallis, Germanis, et post Christianismum remansit etiam pontificibus; et adulteria uxorum ferro candente probant Germani.—*Moresini Papatus*, p. 61.

† "Moxque per ardentes stipulæ crepitantis acervos
Trajicias celeri strenua membra pede."

Ovidii Fastorum, lib. iv. l. 781.

These bonfires, however they may have originated, have been common on St. John the Baptist's Eve at all times and in all countries. They blazed equally in India and Egypt, in the north and amongst the Druids, from the last of whom the custom was in all probability more immediately derived to us. In Cornwall the day was anciently called *Goluan*, a word, as Borlase tells us, expressive both of *light* and *joy*,* while in other parts of the west they had the name of *Blessing Fires*, a tolerably plain hint of their religious origin.† That this has at all times been the notion of the Christian world is plain from the interdictions of the Roman Catholics and the comments of the more rigid dissenters. Prynne in his Histriomastix (p. 585), quotes the sixty-fifth canon of the sixth Council of Constantinople, wherein we read, "Those bonfires that are kindled by certaine people on New Moones before their shops and houses, over which also they use ridiculously and foolishly to leape, by a certaine antient custome, we command them from henceforth to cease. Whoever therefore shall doe any such thing, if he be a clergyman, let him be deposed; if a layman, let him be excommunicated. For in the fourth Booke of the Kings it is thus written: 'And Manasses built an altar to all the hoast of heaven, in the two courts of the Lord's house, and made his children to passe through the fire, &c., and walked in it that he might doe evill in the sight of the Lord to provoke him

* Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 130.

† "Neddy that was wont to make
Such great feasting at the wake
And the *blessing-fire*."

Shepherd's Pipe—W. Browne's Works, vol. iii. p. 53. London, 1772.

A note appended to this says, "the Midsummer fires are termed so in the west parts of England."

to wrath." In the marginal note to this translation of the Latin version from the original Greek canon, Prynne austerely observes "bonefires therefore had their originall from this idolatrous custome as this generall Councell hath defined; therefore all Christians should avoid them." But how differently does the same observance read when told in the pleasant language of Stow.—"In the months of June and July," says the cheerful old man, "on the vigils of festival days, and on the same festival days in the evenings after the sun setting, there were usually made bonfires in the streets, every man bestowing wood or labour towards them; the wealthier sort also, before their doors near to the said bonfires, would set out tables on the vigils, furnished with sweet bread and good drink, and on the festival days with meats and drinks plentifully, whereunto they would invite their neighbours and passengers also to sit and be merry with them in great familiarity, praising God for his benefits bestowed on them. These were called bonfires"—(another derivation of the word!) "as well of good amity amongst neighbours that, being before at controversy, were there by the labour of others reconciled and made of bitter enemies loving friends; and also for the virtue that a great fire hath to purge the infection of the air. On the vigil of St. John the Baptist, and on St. Peter and St. Paul, the Apostles, every man's door being shadowed with green birch, long fennel, St. John's wort, orpin, white lilies, and such like, garnished upon with * garlands of beautiful flowers, had also lamps of glass, with oil burning in them all the night; some hung out branches of iron curiously wrought containing hundreds of lamps alight at once,

* i.e. garlands of *with* or *willow*, upon which the flowers were wreathed.

which made a goodly show, namely, in New Fish Street, Thames Street,* &c."

This pleasing picture is in a great measure confirmed by other writers, and even by one, who speaks of the custom only incidentally, and in illustration of his doctrines. "Seie to me," says Bishop Pecock,† "good sire, and answere hereto; whanne men of the cuntree uplond bringen into Londoun in Mydsomer-eve braunchis of trees fro Bischopis-wode, and flouris for the feeld, and bitaken thoǂ to citessins of Londoun, for to therwith araie herǁ housis, schulen men of Londoun receyving and taking the braunchis and flouris, seie and holde, that the braunchis grewen out of the cartis, which broughten hem to Londoun, and that the cartis, or the hondis of the bringers weren groundis and fundamentis of the braunchis and flouris? Goddis forbade so litel witt be in her hedis. Certes though Crist and his apostlis weren now lyvyng in Londoun, and wolde bringe, so as is now seid, braunchis fro Bischopis-wode, and flouris fro the feelde into Londoun, and wolden hem delyverė to men, that thei make therwith her housis gay into remembrance of St. John the Baptist, and of this that was prophecied of him, that *manye* schulden joie in his burthe, &c."‖

Hutchinson also in his history of Northamptonshire, shows that the day was celebrated with kindred festivities, as indeed it no doubt was through the whole island. His words are, "another custom used on this day, is to dress out stools with a cushion of flowers. A lair of

* Stow's Survey, p. 39. 8vo. London, 1842.

† Lewis' Life of Reynold Pecock, p. 49. 8vo. Oxford, 1820.

ǂ i.e. *them*.

ǁ i.e. *their*.

‖ Reynold Pecock was Bishop of St. Asaph and Chichester in the reign of Henry VI.

clay is placed on the stool, and therein is stuck with great regularity an arrangement of all kinds of flowers so close as to form a beautiful cushion; these are exhibited at the doors of houses in the villages, and at the ends of streets and cross lanes of larger towns where the attendants beg money from passengers, to enable them to have an evening feast and dancing. This custom is evidently derived from the *Ludi Compitalii* of the Romans; this appellation was taken from the *Compita*, or cross lanes, where they were instituted and celebrated by the multitude assembled before the building of Rome. Servius Tullius revived this festival after it had been neglected for many years. It was the feast of the Lares or household Gods, who presided as well over houses as streets. This mode of adorning the seat or couch of the Lares was beautiful, and the idea of reposing them on aromatic flowers and beds of roses was excellent. The chief part of the ceremonies and solemnities of this feast used by the Romans, as we are told by the poets and historians, was exhibiting the household Gods, crowning and adorning them with chaplets and garlands of flowers, and offering sacrifices up and down the streets. Suetonius tells us that Augustus ordered the Lares to be crowned twice a year. We are not told there was any custom among the Romans of strangers or passengers offering gifts. Our modern usage of all these old customs terminates in seeking to gain money for a merry night."*

Before quitting this part of my subject, I have yet a few words to add in regard to *bonfires*. This term has been derived by some from the circumstance of the fires having been originally made of bones. Thus Fuller says, "Some deduce it from fires made of bone relating it to

* A VIEW OF NORTHUMBERLAND. By W. Hutchinson. vol. ii.—appendix on *Ancient Customs*, p. 16, 4to. Newcastle, 1778.

the burning of martyrs, first fashionable in England in the reign of King Henry the Fourth. But others derive the word (more truly in my mind) from *Boon*, that is *Good*, and Fires; whether *good* be taken for *merry* and *chearfull*, such fires being always made on welcome occasions."* It is hard to say which of the divine's derivations is the most absurd. The more probable explanation seems to be that of Dr. Hickes, and which has been adopted by Lye in the ETYMOLOGICON of Junius—namely, that it was derived from the Anglo-Saxon—*bælfyr*, a burning pile,—by the change of a single letter only, *baal* in the Islandic signifying a conflagration.

It appears, too, among other ceremonies, that on these occasions a wheel, covered with lighted straw, was taken to the top of a hill and rolled down, which, we may presume, was originally intended to symbolize the approaching descent of the sun, then in his highest place in the zodiac. But as the early idea faded away under the influence of Christianity, an idle superstition took the place of a beautiful symbol, and people fancied all their ill luck rolled away with the wheel.† The Church, too, had its own version of the matter, and one not a jot more rational than the popular belief, the wheels according to the priests signifying that the fame of St. John, who had been falsely

* *Mixt Contemplations of Better Times.* By Thomas Fuller, B.D. p. 25. 12mo. London, 1660.

† "Some others get a rotten wheele, all worne and cast aside,
Which covered round about with strawe and towe they closely hide;
And caryed to some mountaines top, being all with fire light,
They hurle it down with violence when darke appears the night;
Resembling much the sunne, that from the Heavens downe should fal,
A straunge and monstrous sight it seemes, and fearefull to them all,
But they suppose their mischiefes all are likewise thrown to hell,
And that from harmes and daungers now in safetie here they dwelle."
Regnum Papisticum—translated by Barnaby Googe.

supposed to be Christ, diminished on the appearance of the latter, just as the sun was then beginning to descend from the highest point of the zodiac,*

The bonfires were only one feature in the festivities of this season, though I have given them precedence because in their very nature they point out the pagan origin of the whole. A yet more striking part of the Midsummer pageant was the array and marching of the city watch, as we find it described by Stow. "Then had ye besides the standing watches all in bright harness, in every ward and street of this city and suburbs, a marching watch that passed through the principal streets thereof. The whole way for this marching watch extendeth to three thousand two hundred tailor's yards of assize; for the furniture whereof with lights there were appointed seven hundred cressets,† five hundred of them being found by

* "Rota in quibusdam locis volvitur, ad significandum quod sicut sol ad altiora sui circuli pervenit, nec altius potest progredi, sed tunc sol descendit in circulo, sic et fama Joannis, qui putabatur Christus, descendit, etiam quod ipse testimoniū habet, dicēs — me oportuit minui, illam autem crescere—quod dicunt quidam dictum esse eo quòd tunc dies incipiunt minui, et in nativitate Christi crescere. Sed quia ante festum S. Joannis decrescunt, et ante natale Dm̄ni crescunt, intelligendum est de nativitate in matre, qū scilicet conceptus est uterque; q̄m Joannes conceptus fuit decrescentibus diebus, ut in Septembri, et Christus in crescentibus, ut in Aprili: Vel de die mortis utriusque; nam corpus Christi exaltatū est in cruce, corpus Joannis capite minoratum."—*Durandi Ration. Div. Offici.* p. 292. lib. vii. c. 14.

† Douce, in his ILLUSTRATIONS OF SHAKSPEARE, derives the word *cresset* from the French *croiset*, a cruet or earthen pot, while Hanmer and others deduce it from *croisette*, a little cross, because, as they say, the cresset was surmounted by a little cross. Either etymology seems to me improbable. I should be much more inclined to seek for the origin of the word, as Minshew has done, in the Belgic KAERSE, *candela*, *lychnus*, which at all events describes the cresset whatever form it might assume, whereas either *croiset* or *croisette* can only apply to it under a particular shape, and one which it certainly did not always assume.

the companies, the other two hundred by the chamber of London. Besides the which lights every constable in London, in number more than two hundred and forty, had his cresset; the charge of every cresset was in light two shillings and four pence; and every cresset had two men, one to bear or hold it, another to bear a bag with light, and to serve it, so that the poor men pertaining to the cressets, taking wages, besides that every one had a straw hat, with a badge painted, and his breakfast in the morning, amounted in number to almost two thousand. The marching watch contained in number about two thousand men, part of them being old soldiers of skill, to be captains, lieutenants, serjeants, corporals, &c., wiflers,* drummers, and fifes, standard and ensign bearers,

* *Whiffler* is explained by Douce in his Illustrations of Shakspeare (vol. i. p. 506) to mean a *fifer*, and to be derived from *whiffle*, another name for a *fife* or a small *flute*, but he has given no authority whatever for this signification of the word *whiffle*. His dictum therefore can hardly be received, and the less as Minshew (sub voce) explains Whiffler by "*bastionero*," i.e. a staff-bearer, an interpretation which to my mind is fully borne out by Randle Holme in his description of the Printers' and Founders' May Festival—"About 10 of the clock in the morning on the feastday, the company invited meet at the place appointed, and from thence go to some church thereabouts in this following order. First 4 Whifflers (as servitures) by two and two walking before with white staves in their hands, and red and blew ribbons hung beltwise upon their shoulders; these make way for the company."—*A Store House of Armoury and Blazon, by Randle Holme*, book iii. chap. 3, fol. 127. It is scarcely possible with such a quotation before our eyes to put the slightest faith in Mr. Douce's unsupported assertion, although he has in part borrowed it from Warton, who in a note upon Othello explains *whiffler* to mean *fifer*. But if any thing else be wanted we find in Grose's *Provincial Glossary* "Whifflers; Men who make way for the corporation of Norwich by flourishing their swords."—The only error of Grose is in making that to be provincial which was clearly general. Nares, who had some reading, but not a grain of common sense, and who seems

sword-players, trumpeters on horseback, demilances on great horses, gunners with hand-guns, or half hakes, archers in coats of white fustian, signed on the breast and back with the arms of the city, their bows bent in their hands, with sheaves of arrows by their sides, pike-men in bright corslets, burgonets,* &c., halberds, the like billmen in almaine rivets and apernes of maile in great number; there were also divers pageants, morris-dancers, constables, the one half, which was one hundred and twenty, on St. John's Eve, the other half on St. Peter's Eve,† in bright harness,‡ some overgilt, and every one a

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unable to draw any thing like a right conclusion from the most simple premises, has a vast deal of trash upon this subject, (Glossary, sub voce) all of which has been greedily swallowed by poor Hone without the slightest suspicion of an error. The derivation, however, is plain enough; it comes from *whiffle*, to disperse as by a puff of wind, to scatter.—"This is a plain and obvious sense, against such as would *whiffle* away all these truths by resolving them into a mere moral allegory."—More on the Ser. Ch. ch. 9. *Whiffle* again is derived from *whiff*, which means, as Junius tells us, a *sudden puff of wind*, (flatus subitus et vehemens) but he seems not to be quite satisfied with his own explanation, for he refers us to Otfred's poem, as likely to throw a better light upon this subject. I must confess that on looking at the work I have been unable to find any thing that at all bears upon the question.

* The *burgonet*, as any dictionary will inform the reader, signifies "a sort of helmet." As to the almaine rivets and apernes of mail, I must plead ignorance.

† There are no less than seven festivals of St Peter. Probably the festival here alluded to is that on the day of St. Peter and St. Paul, on the 29th of June, which at one time appears to have been celebrated with no little splendour. Mention has already been made of it incidentally in a previous quotation from Stow.

‡ It is hardly necessary to remind the reader of Shakspeare that *harness* was formerly used for armour—

"Blow, wind! come, wrack,
At least we'll die with harness on our back."—*Macbeth.*

jornet* of scarlet thereupon and a chain of gold, his henchman following him, his minstrels before him, and his cresset light passing by him, the waits of the city, the mayor's officers for his guard before, all in a livery of worsted or say† jackets party-coloured, the mayor himself well-mounted on horseback, the swordbearer before him in fair armour, well mounted also, the mayor's footmen and the like torchbearers about him, henchmen twain upon great stirring horses following him. The sheriffs' watches come one after the other in like order, but not so large in number as the mayor's, for where the mayor had besides *his giant* three pageants, each of the sheriffs had besides *their giants* but two pageants, each their morrice-dance and one henchman, their officers in jackets of worsted or say party-coloured, differing from the mayor's, and each from other, but having harnessed men a great many, &c. This Midsummer Watch was thus accustomed yearly, time out of mind, until the year 1539, the 31st of Henry VIII., in which year on the 8th of May a great muster was made by the citizens at the Mile's end, all in bright armour, with coats of white silk, or cloth and chains of gold, in three great battles,‡ to the number of fifteen thousand, which passed through London to West-

* A *jornet* is a *surtout* or *wrapper*, from the French *journade*, which Roquefort, in his *Glossaire de la Langue Romane*, interprets "surtout, casaque."

† I should hardly have thought this word needed any explanation but that it has pleased Todd in his edition of Johnson's Dictionary to tell us it is deduced from the French *soie*, and means a thin sort of silk. It is neither so derived nor does it signify any thing of the sort. *Say*—or *sai*, as Minshew writes it,—is a sort of fine serge, and comes from the Italian *saia*, which is well explained in the great Dictionary of the Academy, "spezie di panno lano sottile e leggieri." Minshew at once, and very properly, refers us to SERGE.

‡ i. e. *Divisions*—a very common use of the word in all our old writers.

minster, and so through the Sanctuary, and round about the park of St. James, and returned home through Oldborne.* King Henry then considering the great charges of the citizens,"—(jealous rather of so large an armed force)—"for the furniture of this unusual muster, forbad the marching watch provided for at Midsummer for that year, which being once laid down was not raised again till the year 1548, the 2nd of Edward VI., Sir John Gresham then being mayor, who caused the marching watch, both on the Eve of St. John the Baptist, and of St. Peter the Apostle, to be revived and set forth in as comely order as it hath been accustomed, which watch was also beautified by the number of more than three hundred demilances and light horsemen prepared by the citizens to be sent into Scotland for the rescue of the town of Haddington, and others kept by the Englishmen."†

We must not however imagine that this festival was confined to the city of London, for we have ample records of its observance in many of the provincial capitals. In Deering's Nottingham, in the various histories of Chester, of Cornwall, and of other principal places, we have similar details in abundance. But the chief point now to be noticed is the appearance of giants in the procession, a fact which seems to be connected with the images of Gog and Magog, in Guildhall. That they formed a customary part in all such processions is evident not only from what has been just quoted from Stow, but from a multitude of other authorities. Puttenham mentions it

* With such strange examples before us how a word may be corrupted from its original spelling, one is almost tempted to believe in any derivations however fanciful. But that the thing is here too plain for doubt, who could have ever supposed that our modern Holborn was to be sought in Old Borne, the Old Spring?

† *Stow's Survey of London*, p. 39, 8vo. 1842.

in his ART OF POESIE, (p. 128,) wherein he compares a bloated style to "these midsommer pageants in London where, to make the people wonder, are set forth great and uglie gyants marching as if they were alyve and armed at all points, but within they are stuffed full of browne paper and tow." So again King in his VALE-ROYAL, (p. 208,) says "this mayor for his time altered many ancient customs,—as, the shooting for the sheriff's breakfast, the going of the gyants at midsommer, &c." But the fact being allowed, we do not seem to be a jot nearer the origin of the custom. Perhaps after all, the truth lies upon the surface, and instead of seeking for the cause of it in any ancient tales or superstitions, we shall find that the custom originated simply in the circumstance of giants adding to the exhibition by the oddity of their appearance, and that they were introduced with no more reason, than flags and banners are introduced into any modern procession. Still it is possible, as the whole ceremony is clearly of Druid origin, that they also have relation to Druid rites. I allude to the horrible fact related by Cæsar of these barbarous fanatics, that they formed immense images of wicker-work, and filled them with living men, when they set fire to the figures and burnt to death all within them.*

As to the giants in Guildhall, Stow,—and he no doubt gave the received opinion of his day,—states that they were the representatives of a Briton and a Saxon. It does not, however seem very probable, and unless they were originally used as parts of the Midsummer pageant, I am at a loss to offer any reasonable conjecture for these Dagons of civic idolatry.

* "Alii immani magnitudine simulacra habent, quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent, quibus succensis, circumventi flammâ exanimuntur homines."—*Cæsar*, L. vi.

St John's Eve and Day, as the shadowy relicks of a Pagan festival, were naturally connected with a multitude of superstitious observances. Thus the rain, if it should fall on this day is particularly injurious to nuts,* a fact which is allowed by that arch-protestant, Hospinian, who even attempts to assign a cause for it, though he has the grace to say he has heard some maintain the opinion to be vain and superstitious. It was a famous time too for charms and divinations, which appear to have been of various kinds. Not the least singular of these was the drawing of lots, which we find mentioned with much other curious matter in the scholiasts on the sixth Trullan council—"The demoniacal mystery of fires and drawing lots prevailed till the time of the most holy patriarch Michael, who was the prince of philosophers in this queen of cities, and in this manner. On the twenty-third evening of the month of June, men and women assembled on the sea-shore and in certain houses, and adorned some first-born maiden like a bride. After they had feasted, and leaped and danced in Bacchanalian fashion, and had shouted as was their wont on holydays, they poured sea-water into a narrow-necked vessel, and flung into it some articles belonging to each of them; then, as if the maiden had received from Satan the faculty of predicting future events, they would interrogate her in loud voice as to their good or evil fortunes; hereupon she would draw out any of the things thrown into the vessel, which the foolish owner receiving imagined he was now more

* "Persuasum denique est vulgo si circa diem S. Joannis pluat, officere id avellanis. Causa fortasse est ipsarum tunc teneritudo, humoris impatiens. Audivi qui dicerent esse opinionem vanam et superstitiosam, quæ etiam in aliis id genus observationibus multis simplicium animos teneat."—*Hospinian De Festis Christ.*, fol. 114.

certain as to the good or evil that would happen to him." *

Another superstition of the day may be deduced from the following tale told by Bovet, with all the simple earnestness of Defoe in his narrative of Mrs. Veal's ghost. "At South Petherton, in the county of Somerset, lives a gentlewoman (very well known to all the neighbouring gentry) whom I can not mention without an honourable respect, having often had the happiness to have been entertained with most obliging respect both by the virtuous mother and her congenerous issue. It was on Midsummer day, in the year 1680, I happened to pay a visit to that worthy family, and finding the lady and her daughters at home, after passing common civilities, the eldest of the daughters (who is a very ingenious and accomplisht lady,) informed me that there had been the strangest thing done in their family the preceding night that ever was heard on, for their servant maids had raised the devil, &c. and so went on to give a thorow relation of what you will hear by and by; only I think it best to let the maids

* Τῇ Ἰουνίου μηνὸς ἠθροιζοντο ἐν ταῖς ῥυμίσι καὶ ἐν τισιν οἰκοις ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ πρωτότοκον κοράσιον νυμφικως ἐστολιζον. Μετα γὰν το συμποσιασαι καὶ βακχικώτερον ὀρχήσασθαι, καὶ χορευσαι καὶ ἀλαλάξαι, ἔβαλον ἐν ασγείῳ συτόμῳ χαλχῷ θαλαττιον ὕδωρ, καὶ εἴδη τινὰ εκάστω τουτων, &c. SYNODICON, SIVE PANDECTÆ S. S. APOSTOLORUM, &c.—*Canones Concilii Sexti in Trullo.* Can. 65, p. 235, tom. i. fol. Oxon. 1672.

The Trullum, or Trullan, Council, from whose canons the above extract has been made, was a council assembled in 692 against the Monothelites, (μονος, single, and θελεμα, will,) a sect that had its rise about sixty years before, and which, according to Mosheim, maintained that Christ had two natures, but so united as to form one. The council received its name from the *trullum*, i.e. dome (trulla, a cap or dome,) of the palace of Constantinople, though the term was more properly applied to the hall in which the emperors consulted on state affairs. This Council in Trullo was the sixth œcumenical or general council.

themselves tell the story, which after the old lady had called them into the room, they did after this manner:—

"We had been told divers times, that if we fasted on Midsummer Eve, and then at 12 o'clock at night laid a cloth on the table, with bread and cheese, and a cup of the best beer, setting ourselves down as if we were going to eat, and leaving the door of the room open, we should see the persons, whom we should afterwards marry, come into the room and drink to us. Accordingly we kept a true fast all the day yesterday, unknown to any of the family; and at night, having disposed of my mistresses to bed, we fastened the stair-door of their rooms, which came down into the hall, and locked all the doors of the yard, and whatever way besides led into the house, except the door of the kitchen, which was left open to the yard for the sweethearts to enter. It being then near twelve o'clock, we laid a clean cloath on the kitchen table, setting thereon a loaf and cheese, and a stone jug of beer, with a drinking glass, seating ourselves together in the inside of the table with our faces towards the door. We had been in this posture but a little while before we heard a mighty rattling at the great gate of the yard as if it would have shook the house down; there was a jingling of chains, and something seemed to prance about the yard like a horse, which put us into great terror and affrightment, so that we wisht we had never gone so far in it; but now we knew not how to go back, and therefore kept the place where we were. My master's spaniel (for the young captain was then alive) got against the door of the stair-foot, and there made so great a noise with howling and rattling the door, that we feared they might have taken notice of the disturbance; but presently came a young man into the kitchen (*here one of the young ladies interrupted her, saying, 'housewife it was the devil,' to which the maid replied, 'Madam, I do not believe that, but perhaps*

it might be the spirit of a man) and making a bow to me he took up the glass, which was full of beer, on the table, and drunk to me, filling the glass again and setting it on the table as before; then making another bow went out of the room. Immediately after which, another came in the same manner, and did the same to the other maid (whom she named, but I have forgot) and then all was quiet, and after we had eaten some bread and cheese we went to bed."*

From the same authority we learn that those who fasted on St. John's Eve, and then sate in the church-porch at midnight, would "see who should die in that parish the subsequent year, and that the spirits of such would (in the same order they were to die in) come one after another and knock at the church-door."† Upon one occasion it appears a watcher fell asleep so soundly that nobody could wake him, and during this unnatural torpor his spirit appeared and gave the usual warning, though, he himself was totally unconscious of any thing of the kind.

Of the divination by ORPINE, the *Stone-crop*, *Lib-long*, or *Livelong*,‡ I have already spoken in another place.§

* PANDÆMONIUM, or the DEVIL'S CLOYSTER. By Richard Bovet, p. 211: Tenth Relat. 12mo. London. 1684.

† Idem. p. 216.

‡ It is not very easy to decide whether by ORPINE here is intended the *Lesser Houseleek* or the *Stone-crop*; and what renders the matter yet more confused and doubtful is that neither of these plants flowers till late in July, whereas to really meet the terms of the superstitious custom the Orpine, whatever it is, should flower in June. Gerard, however, in his Herbal (p. 519,) gives us several sorts—the *Spanish O.*; the *Common O.*, and three smaller kinds; the *Purple O.*; the *Never-Dying O.*; the *Creeping O.*

§ In the article in question (vol i. p. 210), I gave a quotation from some old writer, I could not recollect whom, respecting the popular superstition of *Midsummer Men*. Oddly enough, I have since found a

The ARTEMISIA, *Mugwort*, or *Motherwort*, was also a ceremonial plant of the season. Aubrey in his usual gossiping vein tells us, "the last summer on St. John's Day (1694) I accidentally was walking in the pasture behind Montague House, it was twelve o'clock. I saw there about two or three and twenty young women, most of them well habited, on their knees very busie, as if they had been weeding. I could not presently learn what the matter was; at last a young man told me that they were looking for a coal under the root of a plantain to put under their heads that night, and they should dream who would be their husbands. It was to be found that day and hour."*

In Hill's NATURALL AND ARTIFICIAL CONCLUSIONS, we have a tale of the same kind in a chapter (c. 146) headed—"*The Vertue of a rare Cole, that is to be found but one hour in the day, and one day in the yeer.* Divers authors affirm concerning the verity and vertue of this Cole, viz., that it is only to be found upon Midsummer Eve (being the Eve of St. John the Baptist) just at noon, under every root of plantine and of mugwort: the effects whereof are wonderful; for whosoever weareth or beareth the same about with them, shall be freed from the plague, fever, ague, and sundry other diseases. And one author especially writeth, and constantly averreth, that he

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portion of it, word for word, in Tawny Rachel (p. 208, vol. ii.) a tale by that stupid fanatic, Hannah More, who however has not given any acknowledgment of the source from which she borrowed it. It is quoted by Ellis in his edition of Brand, of course without the slightest suspicion of an earlier original.

* AUBREY'S MISCELLANIES, chap. xiii. p. 103. London. 1696. The reader, however, who wishes to refer to the original, should be made aware that two works under this same title, but with very different matter, were published by Aubrey, the latter one bearing date 1721.

never knew any who used to carry off this marvellous Cole about them, who ever were (to his knowledge) sick of the plague, or indeed complained of any other maladie."

The writer here alluded to is, I suppose, Mizaldus,* an especial trafficker in ware of this kind, and he is farther corroborated by Lupton, who affirms with as much solemnity as if he had been upon his oath, "I know it to be of truth, for I have found them the same day under the root of plantane."† But in spite of these authorities, Dr. Decker in his notes upon Barbette does not scruple to assert that the Cole is no coal, but simply the rotten roots of old mugwort, which are generally found under the fresh plant; this he pronounces to be an antepileptic in doses of a dram given in water, the real sanative virtues of the plant having no doubt been, as in so many other instances, the origin of the superstition.

In addition to these antepileptic virtues, mugwort was also potent against storms and the devil himself, if branches of it were hung up against the house-doors on St John's Eve.‡ This however was far from being a

* "Quidam multa perhibent de carbonibus pridie D. Joannis Baptistæ sub radicibus artemisiæ evulsis; sed hallucinantur autores; non enim sunt carbones, sed radices artemisiæ antiquæ annosæ emortuæ, multo sale volatili constantes; et semper ferè sub artemisiâ reperiuntur, adeo ut tantum superstitio quædam sit quòd radices illæ annosæ emortuæ pridie D. Joannis Baptistæ circa duodecimam nocturnam evelli debeant. Dosis illarum est ad drachm 1 cum aquâ appropriatâ exhibita." *Praxis Barbettisna*, p. 7. cap. 1. De Epilepsiâ. 12mo. Lug. Bat. 1669.

† Lupton's THOUSAND NOTABLE THINGS, sect. 59. book 1. 4to. London, 1675.

‡ "Inolevit longa annorum serie persuasio, artemisiam in festis Divo Joanni Baptistæ sacris, ante domus suspēsam, item alios frutices et plantas, atque etiam candelas facesque designatis quibusdam diebus celebrioribus aqua lustrali rigatas, vel nescio quomodo expiatas, et quando usus postulat incensas, contra tempestates, fulmina, tonitrua,

quality peculiar to the mugwort; many other herbs, plants, and minerals, appear to have been equally efficacious.

The *fern* was a yet more important object of popular superstition at this season. It was supposed at one time to have neither flower nor seed,* the seed which lay on the back of the leaf being so small as to escape the sight of the hasty observer. Hence, probably, proceeding on the fantastic doctrine of signatures,† our ancestors derived the notion that those who could obtain and wear this invisible seed would be themselves invisible, a belief of which innumerable instances may be found in our old dramatists.‡ It was also, as we are informed by Lemnius, gathered at the summer solstice on tempestuous

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et adversus diaboli potestatem, opera, et quæcunque maleficia, velut prærogativa quadam valere." PAPATUS, *per T. Moresinum*, p. 28. 12mo. Edinburghi. 1594.

* This belief was as old as the time of the Romans. Pliny roundly asserts, "filicis duo genera, nec florem habent, nec semen"—there are two kinds of fern, and they have neither flower nor seed. *Nat. Hist.* lib. xxvii. cap. 55.

† *Signature* is the supposed resemblance borne by a mineral or vegetable to some part of the human body. These resemblances were superstitiously held to afford an indication of the use and virtues of the plant or mineral.

‡ To give a few instances only—

"Why did you think that you had Gyge's ring
Or the *herb that gives invisibility* ?"—
Beaumont and Fletcher's FAIR MAID OF THE INN, Act I. Scene I.

"I had
No medicine, sir, to go invisible,
No *fern-seed* in my pocket, nor an opal
Wrapt in a bay-leaf i' my left fist,
To charm their eyes with." —
Ben Jonson's New Inn, Act I. Scene VI.

"We have the receipt of *fern-seed*, we walk invisible."—
Shakspeare's K. Henry IV. Act II. Scene I.

nights* for the purpose of being used in magic impostures, though of what kind he does not state; by his coupling it with vervain one would suppose he alluded to its power of "hindering witches of their will;" but upon this important subject even Bovet is not more explicit; he contents himself with saying, "much discourse hath been about gathering of fern-seed (which is looked upon as a magical herb) on the night of Midsummer Eve; and I remember I was told of one that went to gather it, and the spirits whisked by his ears like bullets, and sometimes struck his hat and other parts of his body; in fine, though he apprehended that he had gotten a quantity of it and secured it in papers, and a box besides, he found all empty. But most probable this appointing of times and hours, is of the devil's own institution, as well as the fast, that having once ensnared people to an obedience to his rules, he may with more facility oblige them to a stricter vassalage."†

This eve was particularly favourable to the charms by which women were to discover their future lovers, the modes of divination being rather various. In addition to those already mentioned, there was the Dumb Cake—

Two make it,
Two bake it,
Two break it;

and the third must put it under each of their pillows, but not a word must be spoken all the time.‡ This being done the diviners are sure to dream of the man they

* "Sic filicem solstitio æstivo intempesta nocte erutam, rutam, trifolium verbenâ magicis imposturis accommodant." *Exhortatio Ad Vit. Opt. Inst.* De Miraculis Occult. Nat.—Levini Lemnii. 12mo. 658, p. 575.

† Pandæmonium, by R. Bovet, 9th Relat. p. 207.

‡ *Connoisseur*, No. 56.

love. Then there is the divination by hempseed; that is you sow hemp, saying to yourself,

"Hempseed I sow,
Hempseed I hoe,
And he, that is my true love,
Come after me and mow."

Upon looking behind you, the lover makes his appearance.*

If you wet a clean shift, and turn it wrong side out, and hang it on the back of a chair before the fire, the result will be the same.†

It is also a good plan to tie your garter nine times round the bed-post and tie nine knots in it, saying to yourself,

"This knot I knit, this knot I tie,
To see my love as he goes by
In his apparel and array,
As he walks in every day."‡

The narrator of this spell says that her lover came, tucked up her bed-clothes at the feet, and drew the curtains.

Even the snakes in Wales, Cornwall, and throughout all Scotland, celebrate this particular season by meeting together and perform a sort of magical rite after their own fashion, if it should not rather be called a species of glass-blowing. "It is usual," says Camden, "for snakes to meet in companies, and that by joyning heads together and hissing, a kind of bubble is formed, which the rest, by continual hissing, blow on till it passes quite through the body, and then it immediately hardens and resembles a glass ring, which whoever finds (as some old women and children are persuaded) shall prosper in all his undertakings. The rings, thus generated, are called GLEINEU NADROEDH, i.e. *Gemmæ Anguinæ* (Anglice, *Snake-Stones*),

* *Connoisseur*, No. 56. † Idem. ‡ Idem.

whereof I have seen at several places twenty or thirty. They are small glass annulets, commonly about half as wide as our finger-rings, but much thicker, of a green colour usually, though some of them are blue, and others curiously waved with blue, red, and white. I have also seen two or three earthen rings of this kind, but glazed with blue and adorned with transverse streaks or furrows on the outside. The smallest of them might be supposed to have been glass beads worn for ornament by the Romans, because some quantity of them, together with several amber beads have been lately discovered at a stone-pit near Garvord in Berkshire, where they also find some pieces of Roman coin, and sometimes dig up skeletons of men and pieces of arms and armour. But it may be objected that a battle being fought there between the Romans and Britons, as appears by the bones and arms they discover, these glass-beads might as probably belong to the latter. And indeed it seems to me very likely that these *snake-stones* (as we call them,) were used as charms or amulets amongst our Druids of Britain, on the same occasions as the *snake-eggs* amongst the Gaulish Druids; for Pliny,* who lived when those priests were in

* The passage, alluded to by Camden, is in the twelfth chapter of the twenty-ninth book of Pliny, though in Gibson's edition of Camden the reference is to the *third* chapter. Old Philemon Holland gives a free but very pleasant version of the passage, filling up all the allusions of Pliny and smoothing down all the abruptness of his concise and sometimes unintelligible style, 'till it almost reads like an original:—"Over and besides, I will not overpasse one kind of eggs besides which is in great name and request in Fraunce, and whereof the Greeke authors have not written a word; and this is the serpent's egg, which the Latins call *anguinum*. For in summer-time verely, you shall see an infinit number of snakes gather round together into an heape, entangled and enwrapped one within another so artificially, as I am not able to expresse the manner thereof; by the means therefore of the froth or salivation which they yeeld from their mouths and the humour that commeth from their bodies, there is engendered the egg

request, and saw one of their snake-eggs, gives us the like account of the origin of them, as our common people do of their Glain Neidr."*

Sometimes it would appear that these glass annulets were struck through a larger ring of iron, and that again through a much larger of copper. One of this kind was found in the river Cherwell, near Hanipton Gay, in Oxfordshire, as we find it figured and described in Dr. Plott's Natural History of that county. He maintains however that they were not British, but either Saxon or Danish, the British rings being of iron, as the Roman were of gold or silver.†

The only remaining feast of this month of any note in the calendar, is the Eve of St. Peter and St. Paul, i.e. the 28th, on which occasion many of the rites peculiar to St. John the Baptist are repeated.

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aforesaid. The priests of France, called Druidæ, are of opinion, and so they deliver it, that these serpents when they have thus engendered this egg, doe cast it up on high into the aire, by the force of their hissing, which being observed there must be one ready to catch and receive it in the fall againe (before it touch the ground) within the lappet of a coat of arms or soldiour's cassocke. They affirme also that the partie, who carrieth this egg away, had need to be well mounted on a good horse and to ride away upon the spur, for that the foresaid serpents will pursue him still, and never give over untill they meet with some great river between him and them that may cut off and intercept their chase. They add moreover and say that the onely marke to knowe this egg, whether it be right or no, is this, that it will swim aloft above the water even against the streame, yea though it were bound and enchased with a plate of gold."—*Holland's Pliny*, p. 353, b. 29, chap. iii.

Camden affirms that this *ovum* anguinum is nothing more than a shell, either marine or fossil, of the kind called *Echinus Marinus*, "whereof one sort, though not the same that he, (Pliny) describes, is called at this day in most parts of Wales, where they are found, Wyeur Mor, i.e. *Sea Eggs*."—See his account of the Ordovices, p. 64.

* Camden's Britannia.—*Ordovices*—vol. ii. p. 64. fol. 1772.

† Plott's *History of Oxfordshire*, chap. x. pars 107 and 108, p. 353, folio. Oxford, 1705.

ROSICRUCIANISM AND FREE-MASONRY.

Belief upon any topic, no matter what it may be, appears to have such charms for the mass of mankind, and to be altogether such a pleasant kind of indulgence, that a writer seldom gets thanks for attempting to disturb an established creed. The reluctance of the old monks to exchange their blundering *mumpsimus* for the correcter *sumpsimus* has often been quoted in illustration of this disposition; abuse was the only coin in which they paid their monitors, and better than this I can hardly expect from the Freemasons for showing that they are either deceived or deceivers, and that in fact their society sprang out of decayed Rosicrucianism just as the beetle is engendered from a muck-heap. The doctrine, however, is not new; it has been broached before both here and upon the continent, but always as if the writers were half afraid lest in pulling down the masonic temple the rubbish might fall about their ears, and do them a mischief. In consequence, there is not, as far as I know, any thing like a full and clear exposition of this wide-spread juggle, and if a patient investigation of the subject may entitle

me to say so much, my object is to supply that deficiency. To the best of my own judgment and conviction I have adopted a correct theory on a subject not generally understood, and when there are so many apparent motives for giving it utterance it will be hard indeed if the reader can not hit upon one suited to his own peculiar tastes and habits. If he be sour and bigotted, he will attribute this attempt to vanity; if of a better nature, he may perhaps, set it down to a scholarly ambition; if he be really wise, he will see that something more is intended than lies upon the surface, and that one great object is to stimulate the credulous to think for themselves, instead of believing blindly upon any topic.

The world having arrived at the mature age of 1847, it might fairly enough be expected to have come to years of discretion. In the above space it has played many wild pranks—such as roasting men and oxen whole at Smithfield, stretching limbs upon the rack, and putting to death any one, who would fain have taught it to be better. No doubt, times have much mended of late, but still not a few of the old nursery tales maintain their ground amongst us; and of these Freemasonry is the most widely disseminated and the most ridiculous. Of course such an opinion will shock many gentlemen, who wear aprons, leather or silk as the case may be, and who amuse themselves with talking of "light from the east" and the building of Solomon's Temple, and with many other childish pranks, which if played off in the broad daylight would be ridiculous.

To persuade men to use their reason is always a difficult task, and the time has been when the effort to do so was rewarded with a stake or a dungeon. Indeed if we listen to the outcry, which is raised even now against the exercise of that faculty, one might suppose that reason was given to us for no other purpose than not to

be used, and that a blind belief was the greatest of human merits.

Strange as my doctrine may seem in regard to the origin of Masonry, it has not been lightly taken up nor in support of any preconceived system. As Falstaff says of Worcester's rebellion, "it lay in my way, and I found it." In wading through a mass of alchemical trash for very different purposes, I was struck by the great similarity both of doctrine and symbols existing between the Rosicrucians and Freemasons. With more haste than judgment I at first imagined that the brethren of the Rosy Cross were only imitators of the Freemasons, but after a long and patient enquiry, pursued through more volumes than I should like to venture upon again for such an object, I was forced to abandon my position. The Freemasons did indeed, like the Rosicrucians, lay claim to great antiquity, but while some of them modestly dated the origin of their order from Adam,* I could by no

* The Rev. George Oliver in his *Star in the East*, says (p. 2,) "Freemasonry was revealed by God himself to the first man;" and that there may be no mistake as to his real meaning, he subjoins in a note, "this may appear a bold assertion, but I am persuaded it is nevertheless true. Placed in the Garden of Eden, Adam would certainly be made acquainted with the nature of his tenure, and taught, with the worship of his Maker, that simple science of morals, which is now termed Freemasonry. This constituted his chief employment in Paradise, and his only consolation after his unhappy Fall; for Speculative Masonry is nothing else but the philosophy of mind and morals, founded on the belief of a God the Creator, Preserver, and Redeemer; which instructs mankind in the sublimities of science; inculcates a strict observance of the duties of social life; inspires in the soul a veneration for the author of its being; and incites to the pure worship of the Great Architect of the Universe."

Of all the enthusiasts for Freemasonry this writer is the most puerile as well as the most daring in his assertions. Whatever in any way seem to make for his system, he immediately takes for granted without farther enquiry; it suits his purpose, or he fancies it does,

means trace it back farther than the first half of the seventeenth century. Their historical assertions, when fairly tested and examined, crumbled into dust; the negative proofs were as strong against them, as they well could be; and at length the conclusion was to my mind inevitable. At the same time it should be borne in mind that the Freemasons are much changed from what they were originally. The alchemical jargon of their founders, the gold-making and the spirit of prophecy, had become too ridiculous in the advancing spirit of the age to be prudently avowed any longer; had they persisted in them their whole system must have sunk into contempt; these therefore they have quietly dropt, retaining only their pretensions to a clearer knowledge of the Deity and an intelligence of divine truths beyond that of other men. This of course tends in some measure to throw out the enquirer, and his difficulty is increased by finding that, if Masons and Freemasons were at any time the same thing, they are so no longer; the Mason knows nothing whatever of the mysticism, and the Freemason is just as little acquainted with the craft of the workman; he could not square a block of stone though his life depended upon it. Whatever therefore the Freemason retains of the workman's occupation is a mere myth, and for any useful or intelligible purpose he might as well wear the apron of a blacksmith, and typify his morals by a horse-shoe. True it is that he carries the plummet, the level, and the other implements of the

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and that is quite enough for him. Thus he is pleased to tell us the word, *Masonry* is a mere corruption of Μεσουρανεω—sum in medio cæli—but that a yet older name for it was *lux*, or *light;* upon this wild assumption he then builds up as wild a theory, interpreting *light*, wherever the phrase is used by Christ or his Apostles, to signify Masonry. See his *Antiquities of Masonry*, p. 4.

masonic trade, but not as signs or badges of the mechanic art; he attaches to them a very different signification.

I feel then not the least hesitation in saying that the Freemasons have no secret beyond a few trumpery legends and the attaching of certain religious and moral meanings to a set of emblems, principally borrowed from the mechanic art of the builder. I affirm too that all such symbols, with their interpretations, are of Rosicrucian origin, and that the Freemasons never belonged to the working guilds, their objects being totally different. The proofs are at hand. Let the reader exercise his own unbiassed judgment upon them, taking nothing upon trust from either party, and I have little doubt of his coming to the same conclusion. He must, however, follow me patiently step by step, and begin by thoroughly understanding the origin, tenets, and historical existence of the Rosicrucians.

As, according to the theory that I wish to establish, Freemasonry grew out of Rosicrucianism, it is essential that we should in the first instance thoroughly understand the origin and nature of the latter. Without this previous knowledge on the part of my readers, I could hardly hope to make myself intelligible to them.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to fix the precise time when alchemy, which is said to have emanated from the Arabs,* first found its way into Europe; but we do know that the writings of Paracelsus spread the so-called science far and wide, and gave to it a consideration, which it had not possessed before. Like all re-

* I put this matter doubtfully, being myself far from satisfied of the truth of the assertion. That Europe received alchemy from the Arabs I do not for a moment question; but this proves nothing; and we know enough of the Egyptian character to make it extremely probable that both astrology and alchemy had their birth in the land of the Pharoahs.

formers, if Paracelsus had bitter enemies he had also warm adherents, and while the one denied his very truths, the others were no less infatuated with his errors. His influence in consequence over his own age, and for at least a hundred years afterwards, was unbounded. Nor shall we wonder at this when we call to mind how much his creed was in harmony with the general and passionate belief in the marvellous and supernatural. The soundest philosophers of the day were in this respect no wiser than the common herd, and we find that even such a man as Leibnitz could join at Nurenberg a society of sages whose professed object was the search after the philosopher's stone.* With the multitude of course belief assumed a yet blinder and grosser form, till mankind had almost lost their free agency in the host of spirits that beset them, headed by no less a personage than the devil himself, who bodily as well as visibly interfered in all their concerns. At such a time alchemy could not fail to be peculiarly acceptable to the minds of men, and the rather, as it was not to be acquired like any profane science by the dry way of study, but must be got by inspiration, the art being a divine one, handed down in secret from Solomon, or as some would have it from Moses. In fact it was one of the mysteries taught by the Cabala, or inspired wisdom, the possessors of which comprehended the operations of nature at a glance; but this Cabala,† or Light from the

* See Buhle, p. 236.

† Amongst all the explanations given by Rosicrucians of the *Cabala*, the following is by far the most intelligible.—"Daher ist auch dieselbe Kunst der Himlischen Weisheit von Etlichen in der Hebraischen Sprache *Cabala*, oder zu Latein *Receptio*, genennt worden, welches zu Deutsch so viel heisst als eine solche Kund, die man durch Offenbarung von Gott erlanget. Die Wissenschaft aber so dissfals ein Mensch von dem andern erlangen kann, bestehet fürnemblich in dem Weye und Process, dadurch zu solcher hohen Kunst der Gött

East, which was communicated by the Deity to Adam, and from him passed to Moses and the Prophets, was confined to the few elect. It was the great secret of

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Weissheit zu kommen, wie nemblich ein Mensch sich prepäriren und vorbereiten, und wie er seine Seele reinigen und bekehren solle, das sie zu empfähung solcher allerhöchster Gabe Gottes geschickt und bequem sey."—*Echo der von Gott hocherleuchten Fraternitet, &c.*, p. 110, Danzig, 1617, 12mo.—"Hence this art of heavenly wisdom is by some called in the Hebrew tongue, *Cabala;* or in Latin, *Receptio;* which in German is as much as to say an art obtained by revelation from God. But the knowledge, which in this respect one man can obtain from another, consists chiefly in the way and process of arriving at such a high art of godly wisdom—how, namely, a man may prepare and dispose himself, and how he may cleanse and convert his mind, that he may be fit and proper for the reception of this highest heavenly gift."

But it should appear that there were various sorts of Cabalas; Flood, who had as much useless learning as most men, gives a very full account of them. "Ex veterum philosophorum scriptis colligimus *Cabalam* illam esse scientiæ speciem, quæ originem suam ab Antistite Moyse duxit. Nam Judæi volunt hanc cognitionem Moysi divino numine fuisse traditam, ac deinceps citra literarum monumenta, gradu successionis, posteris usque ad Esdræ tempus sola viva voce continuatam; unde *Cabala* ab Hebræis, quasi solo auditu unius ab altero, *receptio* nuncupata est. Hujus duo recensentur genera, quorum unum *Cosmologia* dicitur, videlicet rerum creatarum naturalium, tam sublunarium quàm cælestium, vires explicans, et legis bibliique arcana philosophicis rationibus exponens, quæ a magia illa naturali aliquo modo differre non videtur, in qua Salomonem regem superius excelluisse diximus, nam disputavit à cedro Libani usque ad Hyssopum; item jumentorum, volucrum, reptilium, et piscium, immò et omnium rerum naturalium proprietates inspexit, optimèque divini numinis assistentia percalluit; nam magicas naturalium vires in centro delitescentes, virtute hujus speciei *Cabalæ* ad actum producere non dubitavit. Alia Cabalæ differentia nuncupatur Mercava, quæ est de sublimioribus divinarum Angelicarumque virtutum, sacrorum nominum, et signaculorum contemplationibus; atque hæc ejus species dividitur in *Notariacon*, quæ universaliter circa angelorum virtutes, nomina, et signacula, ad Dæmonum et animarum conditiones versatur. Vel in *Theomanti-*

Paracelsus, as it was of his followers, and still is of the Freemasons; but with this difference; the *Light from the East* no longer supplies the key of knowledge to art or science, but is presumed to illuminate the adept in the way of morals and religion,—in fact to be that higher species of truth which the Jewish priests kept among themselves, and pretended were not revealed in the Bible.

Here then we have all the admitted tenets of the Rosicrucians, and we see a sect, though not a brotherhood. The next question therefore is, when did such a brotherhood first arise? The Cabalists will at least reply, it dates from the building of Solomon's temple, that being a favourite epoch with all Christian mystics, though it involves their creed in many difficulties and contradictions. In spite, however, of such high authorities, even the name of Rosicrucian does not seem to have been known till the commencement of the seventeenth century. There is no mention of such a thing in the works of Albertus Magnus, Friar Bacon, Cornelius Agrippa, nor even of Paracelsus; yet surely had it existed, it must have been known to one, if not to all of them, and as surely we should have found some traces of it in their writings. The total absence of any thing of the kind is as conclusive as a negative proof can be.*

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cam, quæ divinæ Majestatis mysteria, sacraque nomina, et pentacula, scrutatur, quam qui novit, hunc aiunt admirandis pollere virtutibus, ita ut cum velit, futura omnia presciat, totique naturæ imperet. Hac arte putant Moysen tot signa et miracula edidisse et Josuen stare solem præcipisse." — *Apologia Compendiaria, &c.*, Auctore R. de Fluctibus (Flood) Leydæ, 1616, p. 27.

* There was indeed a *Militia Crucifera Evangelica*, established in Nuremberg, A.D. 1586; but this was only a fanatic Protestant society. See Buhle; p. 119.

In 1614 appeared a pamphlet with the title of, *Allgemeine und General Reformation der ganzen weiten Welt, beneben der Fama Fraternitatis, oder Entstehung der Brüderschaft des löblichen Ordens des Rosenkreutzes, &c.* Cassel, 1614, 8vo. The author's name was not given, but the work was said to be published without his consent, and to be the production of John Valentine Andreä,* an assertion, the truth of which however has been questioned. A second edition, and it is to *that* my references are made, appeared at Frankfort in 1617, under the title of *Fama Fraternitatis, oder Entdeckung der Bruderschafft dess löblichen*

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* John Valentine Andreä was born in 1586, at Herrenberg in Wurtemberg, and excelled in theology, mathematics, and philosophy. He is spoken of very highly by the poet, Herder, and seems to have entered earnestly into the religious disputes of his time. Many have doubted his being the author of the *Fama*, but it would be difficult to say on what reasonable grounds. It was generally so believed in his own day, and Arnold bears the most decisive testimony to the same effect in his *Kirchen und Ketzer-Historie*, (p. 899). He there says, "Man hat in M. Christoph Hirschen's, (predigers zu Eissleben) hinterlasseuen Schriften gefunden, dass Joh. Arnd an ihn als seinen vertrauten freund und ehemals daselbst gewesenen Collegen in vertrauen berichtet gehabt, wie ihm D. Joh. Valentinus Andreæ auch sub rosâ dieses secretum entdecket hätte, dass er (D. Andreæ) nebst andern 30 personen im Würtembergerland die *Famam Fraternitatis* zu erst heraus gegeben, dadurch hinter dem Vorhange zu erfahren was vor judicia in Europa darüber ergehen, und was vor verborgene Liebhaber der wahren weissheit hin und wieder stecken, und sich hiebey vorthun würden."—"In the posthumous writings of M. C. Hirschen, pastor at Eissleben, it has been found that John Arnd informed him in confidence, as a near friend and former colleague, how he had been told by John Valentine Andreä,—also sub rosâ—that he, namely Andreä, with thirty others in Wurtemberg, had first sent forth the *Fama Fraternitatis*, that under this screen they might learn the judgment of Europe thereon, as also what lovers of true wisdom lay concealed here and there, and would then come forward."

*Ordens dess Rosen-Creutzes Beneben der Confession, &c.;** and here for the first time we have an account of the Rosicrucian brotherhood, or indeed any mention of them. According to Andreä's tale, a certain Christian Rosenkreuz, though of good birth, found himself compelled from poverty to enter the cloister at a very early period of life. He was only sixteen years old when one of the monks proposed going on a pilgrimage to the holy grave, and Christian as an especial favour was permitted to accompany him. At Cyprus the brother is taken ill, and dies, but, nothing daunted by this accident, Christian resolves not to abandon his first design, and goes on to Damascus, with the intention of proceeding to Jerusalem. Here, while he is delayed by fatigue, he chances to hear talk of the wonders performed by the Damascene sages, and, his curiosity being excited, he puts himself under their direction. After the lapse of three years spent in acquiring their most hidden mysteries, he sets sail from the Arabian gulf for Egypt, where he studies the nature of plants and animals, and then having traversed the Mediterranean he arrives at Fez in Africa as he had been advised by his Arabian masters. At this place it was the custom of the Arab and African sages to meet once a year for the purpose of mutually communicating the results of their experience and enquiries; and here he passes two years in study, after which he travels into Spain, but not finding a favourable reception determines to give his own country the benefit of his researches. But even in Germany, swarming as it was with mystics of all kinds, his proposed reformation in morals and

* I have not seen the first of these editions, but it seems to want the *Confessio*, while it has the *Reformation*, which is not in the second. This *Reformation*, according to Murr, is nothing more than a literal translation of lxxvij. *Ragguaglio di Parnasso* di TRAJANO BOCCALINI.

science meets with so little public sympathy that he determines to establish a society of his own, and with this view selects three of his most favourite companions from his old convent. To them, under a solemn vow of secrecy he imparts his knowledge, their office being to commit it to writing, and form a magic tongue and vocabulary for the benefit of future students. But it seems that in addition to this task they had also undertaken to prescribe gratuitously for all the sick, who chose to claim their assistance, and the concourse of patients in a short time is so great as materially to interfere with their other labours. Christian's new building therefore of the Holy Spirit being by this time finished, he resolves to encrease the number of his brotherhood, and accordingly initiates four new members.

When all is completed, and the eight brothers are thoroughly instructed in the mysteries, they separate according to agreement, two only staying with Father Christian; but they are to return at the year's end that they may mutually communicate the fruits of their acquired experience. The two, who stayed at home, are then to be relieved by two others, so that the founder may never be quite alone, and they again divide for another twelvemonth. The laws to which they bind themselves are—

1st. That none should devote themselves to any occupation except physic, and should practice it gratuitously.

2nd. That none should be compelled on account of the brotherhood to wear a particular habit, but should conform in this respect to the custom of the land, in which they happen to be.

3rd. That each should present himself on a certain day in the year at the *House of the Holy Spirit*, or should send a reason for his absence.

4th. That each should look out for a brother to succeed him in the event of his death.

5th. The letters R.C. were to be their seal, watchword, and title.

6th. The brotherhood should be kept a secret for one hundred years

It should seem that though the brotherhood by their superior knowledge could guard against sickness, still they were not exempt from death. At the age of one hundred years Christian died, but the place of his burial remained a secret to all except the two brothers, who were with him, and they, according to their compact, carried the mystery with them to the grave. The society went on nevertheless, unknown to the world and always consisting of eight members, till another one hundred and twenty years had elapsed, when according to a tradition among them the grave of Father Rosenkreutz was to be discovered, and the brotherhood to be no longer a mystery to the world. It was about this time that the brothers began to make some alterations in their building, and thought of removing to another and more fitting situation the memorial-tablet, on which were inscribed the names of the associates. The plate, which was of brass, was fixed to the wall by means of a nail in its centre, and so firmly did it hold that in tearing it away a portion of plaister came off too and discovered to them a concealed door. Upon this door being yet farther cleansed from the incrustation, there appeared above in large letters,

POST CXX ANNOS PATEBO.

Great was their delight at so unlooked-for a discovery; but still they so far restrained their curiosity as not to open the door till the next morning, when they found themselves in a seven-sided vault, each side five feet wide, and in height eight feet. It was lighted by an artificial sun in the centre of the arched roof, while in the middle of the floor, instead of a tomb, stood a round altar covered with a small brass plate, on which was this inscription:

A. C. R. C. *Hoc, universi compendium, vivus mihi sepulchrum feci.*

About the outer edge was,

Jesus mihi omnia.

In the centre were four figures; each enclosed in a circle, with these circumscriptions:

1. *Nequaquam vacuus.*
2. *Legis Jugum.*
3. *Libertas Evangelii.*
4. *Dei gloria intacta.*

Hereupon they all knelt down, and returned thanks to heaven for having made them so much wiser than the rest of the world, a naive trait that adds not a little to the verisimilitude of the story. Then they divided the vault into three parts—the roof, or heaven—the wall, or the sides—and the ground, or pavement. The first and last were according to the seven sides divided into triangles, while every side was divided into ten squares with figures and sentences, to be explained to the newly initiated. Each of these again had a door opening upon a closet, wherein were stored up sundry rare articles, such as the secret books of the order, the vocabulary of Paracelsus, and other things of the same nature, which it was allowable to impart even to the profane. In one they discovered the life and itinerary of their founder; in another they lighted upon mirrors possessed of different qualities, a little bell, burning lamps, and a variety of curious matters, intended to help in rebuilding the order, which after the lapse of many centuries was to fall into decay. Curiosity to see their founder induced them to push aside the altar, when they came upon a strong brass plate, and this too being removed,

> "Before their eyes the wizard lay,
> As if he had not been dead a day."

Moreover, like the celebrated character described in

these lines, he had a volume under his arm, which proved to be of vellum with letters of gold, and at the end of it, in two separate circles, were the names of eight brethren, who had assisted at their founder's interment. Next to the Bible, the Rosicrucians valued this book beyond any portion of their inheritance, yet it is not said whether they took away any of these rarities, or left the dead man in quiet possession of his treasures. Most probably they acted after the usual manner of heirs, and then paid the deceased all possible respect by replacing the metal plate and altar, and closing up the door, which they still farther secured by affixing their respective seals to it.

Such is the brief sketch of the Rosicrucians as given in the *Fama*, which then concludes with an invitation to the wise and good to join them, and a declaration of their opinions, moral, religious, and political. They respect all established governments, they are true Lutherans,* and, as to their philosophy, it is nothing new, but such as it was received by Adam after the Fall, and practised both by Moses and Solomon."† They deprecate the general passion for gold-making, yet allow that they are possessed of the art, though they look upon it as a parergy, and one of the least of their many valuable secrets. They then point out the manner in which the aspirants for

* Damit aber auch ein jeder Christ wisse was Confession und Glaubens wir seyen, so bekennen wir uns zur Erkanntniss Jesu Christi wie dieselbige zu dieser letzter zeit, besonders in Teutschland, hell und klar ausgangen, und noch heut zu Tag, ausgeschlossen aller Schwermer, Ketzern, und falschen Propheten, von gewissen und aufgezeigten Ländern erhalten, bestritten, und propagirt, wirt; geniessen auch der Sacramentum, wie die eingesetzt mit allen Phrasib. und Ceremoniis der ersten renovirten Kirchen. In der Policey erkennen wir das Römische Reich und die Quartam Monarchiam fur unser und die Christen Haupt.—*Fama*, p. 30.

†Auch ist unser Philosophia nichts neues, sondern wie sie Adam nach seinem Fall erhalten, und Moses und Salomon geubet.—*Idem.*, p 30.

Rosicrucian mysteries may communicate with them, namely, by means of printed pamphlets—"for though at the present time we name neither ourselves nor our place of meeting, yet in whatever language they write, full surely will it come to our knowledge. Nor shall any one, who gives his name, fail either of a meeting with some of us, or of a written reply. This too we say for certain, whoever means well and fairly by us shall have the benefit of it both in soul and body. But he who is false of heart, or who is only looking after gold, he shall do no harm to us, but shall bring assured destruction upon himself. As to our *House of the Holy Spirit*, though thousands may have seen it, yet shall it ever remain unvisited, and undisturbed, and to the godless world a mystery."

The Rosicrucians were quite correct in saying there was nothing new in their system, though they certainly had no occasion to travel all the way to Adam for it; the whole affair lay much nearer home. With the exception of Father Rosenkreutz, his fraternity of eight, and the *House of the Sanctus Spiritus*, there was not a syllable in the whole pamphlet that might not be found in the writings of Paracelsus and his followers. Nay even the mysterious building can hardly be called an original erection; it was in all probability taken from the Arabian institution of the same name, of which I shall have occasion to speak presently; or they might even have found it without leaving Europe; we meet with something very like it in the *New Atlantis* of Bacon, which, as it appeared in Latin as well as English, may easily have been known to the author of the *Fama*. The SOLOMON'S HOUSE, or COLLEGE OF THE SIX DAYES' WORKS, though of a sound and philosophic nature as befitted the genius of Bacon, is yet full of fanciful devices, and even while of so opposite a tendency may have given rise to the Rosicrucian building. It is true

that the one looks upon the work of the seven days as a volume open to the eyes of all, and which is to be studied by the usual means, while the others considered it as a profound mystery, that, defying the usual forms of exoteric enquiry was only to be attained by *light from the east;* yet I can see nothing in this opposition of ideas and objects that at all militates against the notion of the thing having been derived from the source mentioned.

However little claims the *Fama* might in truth have to novelty, it did not fail to set all Germany in commotion, and to give a keener edge to the war between the Paracelsists and their opponents, the attack and defence assuming all the shapes of Proteus. While some maintained that the Fama was intended only as a satire upon the alchemists and cabalists, and that there was no such thing as a society of Rosicrucians in existence, others allowed the entity of the brotherhood but would insist that they had their art from the devil, who indeed would seem in their day to have been very fond of playing the schoolmaster. This, however, was "the unkindest cut of all" to the Rosicrucians, and they resisted it accordingly. They declared themselves zealous Lutherans, equally opposed to Catholic and Calvinist, Jew and Mahomedan, in which there seems no reason for disbelieving them. So far as Rosicrucianism is connected with religion, its tenets are Protestant, and the state of the European world in that age, when the thirty years' war was raging throughout Germany, admitted of no compromise between the two great divisions of Christianity, even if Catholicism had not in its principles been opposed to a society having a secret theology for one of its objects. Besides, we have the repeated declarations of the Rosicrucian writers on the subject, themselves zealous Protestants. To quote one of many such instances, Flood says in his *Compendious Apology*; "Thus Lutherans, Calvinists, and others of the kind—thus also the Brothers—because they *con-*

demn the Pope, and Mahomet, are to be deemed heretics, if we may believe the vain and threatening declarations of the Papists."*

Nor were they at less pains to shew the difference between their *magia,*† which they interpreted to mean *wis-*

* "Sic Lutherani, Calviniani, et hujusmodi alii, sic etiam fratres isti—quoniam Papam cum Mahumetâ damnaverunt—pro hæreticis habendi sunt, si Papistarum assertionibus vanis et minabundis fides adhibenda."—*Apologia Compendiaria*—Procemium, p. 11.

In another part of the same work (p. 23,) he tells us that *Magia* is a Persian word signifying *wisdom,* and that there are different sorts of it, "*naturalis,*" "*mathematica,*" "*venefica,*" "*necromantica,*" and "*præstigiatrix.*"

† The author of the *Echo* says, "So muss man wissen das nehmlich dreyerley Magie sey. Die erste, und allein rechte Magie ist die Göttliche, so sonsten Magia Cælestis, oder Divina Sapientia, das ist die *Himlische oder Göttliche Weisheit,* mag genennet werden, und von den Hebreern *Mercana,* zu Latein *Sapientia Divinitatis,* genandt wird, sonsten von ihnen *Cabala* geheissen." *Echo,* &c., Vorrede, p. 9. "It must be understood that there are three sorts of magic. The first, and the only right one, is the *Heavenly,* which may be otherwise called *Magia Cælestis,* or *Divina Sapientia,* (that is the Celestial or Divine Wisdom) and is named by the Hebrews *Mercana* (Sapientia Divinitatis) or sometimes *Cabala.*

Flood goes upon a somewhat different tack, though with the same object in view. "Quid, quæso, sibi proderint fratres sermone claro et clangore quasi buccinæ operationes suas mirabiles mundo divulgare, auresque hominum vanis rumoribus permulcere, si fidem promissorum absque iniquis magiæ astutiis præstare nequeant, cum in omni republicâ Christianâ ut necromantici, venefici, et incantatores, pœna capitali, patibulo aut igne multentur, decretum sit atque lege peculiari ordinatum. Sed quoniam D. Libavius in eâ sententiâ atque opinione fixus et nullo modo ab eâ removendus videtur, &c." *Apologia Compendiaria,* p. 9. 12mo. Leyden 1616.—"What, I pray you, would it avail the brethren to announce their marvellous operations to the world, plainly and as with the sound of a trumpet, and to tickle men's ears with vain reports, if they are unable to fulfil their promises without the evil sleights of magic, when in every Christian republic it is decreed and ordained by a special law that all necromancers, sorcerers, and en-

dom in its highest form, and that vulgar magia, or magic, which was taught by the devil to his disciples. Nature, they contended, was still only half unveiled, many of her creations and modes of working, particularly in regard to medicine, being still mysteries, for our unassisted senses are not able to understand them. Great thanks therefore were due to the Rosicrucians, those indefatigable enquirers, who have so assiduously laboured to find out the key to such knowledge. Their most important secret was an *universal medicine*, a polychrest lying hid in nature, as their mysteries in general were nothing but her unre-

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chanters shall be punished by the gibbet or by fire. But since Libau seems to be fixed in that judgment and opinion, and by no means to be moved from it, &c."—therefore he goes on to enquire whether the brethren are inspired by God or the devil. The result is that they are acquitted of all dealings or packings with Diabolus, to the satisfaction of every one except the aforesaid Andrew Libau and his followers. But in truth Master Andrew never gave any quarter to the poor Rosicrucians, whom he pelted with his satirical tracts for years, and perhaps not altogether disinterestedly, for he was himself a physician of eminence, and seems to have heartily detested Paracelsus and all his doctrines. Still, if he were not inspired by the demon of contradiction, and really wrote from knowledge, he must have been far beyond his age, for in a time of the grossest superstition he rises above quackery and prejudice of every kind. In addition to his other merits in the cause of truth he demolished, so far as reasoning could demolish, two of the most popular fallacies—namely, that wounds might be cured by anointing the weapon that had inflicted them; and that the body of the murdered would bleed anew in the presence of the murderer; nor will it be considered as any substantial drawback on his merits, that his arguments were somewhat coloured by the feelings of his age. At the same time I do not see why he should so particularly connect these two superstitions with Paracelsus, as if they had originated with him, when one at least of them most assuredly belonged to a much earlier period. Paracelsus was not born till 1493, and the bleeding of corpses in the presence of the murderers is mentioned by Ficinus in 1490, not to mention that, we find repeated notice of it in the Anglo-Saxon records, not as an idle superstition, but in connection with the judgments of the law-

vealed powers. It was not however a single means, nor did it render a theoretical knowledge of medicine unnecessary.

Specious as such replies might be, they did not convince, or even soften their adversaries. The attack continued as hot as ever, but for a long time without producing any visible effect.* The belief in a Rosicrucian brotherhood, which had grown out of the FAMA, was exceedingly general, and numerous were the pamphlets addressed to them to participate in their secrets.† In many cases the writers gave their names, while others again

* This is particularly the case throughout the *Fama Remissa*, a pamphlet published in answer to the *Fama Fraternitatis* of Andreä.

† Buhle has given short extracts from a multitude of these letters preserved in the library at Göttingen, (p. 181, et seq.) We have moreover ample testimony to the fact in the *Speculum Sophicum Rhodo-Stauroticum* of Schweighart, a strange title, but it pleased him to *atticise* the name of the Rosicrucian by the ingenious adaptation of two Greek words,—*ῥόδον*, a rose; and *σταυρὸς*, a stake—and thus produce this formidable title-page. In the very outset of his work he says, "Mir ist nicht unwissend, treuherziger Leser, mit wass grossem Appetit, doch mehr theils vergeblicher Hoffnung, nach dem Collegio, Losament, und Wohnhaus der so weit beschreiten Rosen-creutzerischen Brüderschaft von hoch-und-nider-Standts Personen bis dahero ist gebracht worden, in erachtung schier kein Tag zu Frankfört, Leipzig, und andern bekanten Orthen, sonderlich aber in der Stadt Prag, vergehen kann, da nit 10, 12, ja wol 20, oder mehr underschiedliche Personen bey Kunsthändlern, Buchführern, Kupferstechern, &c. solcher Sachen sich wass besser zuerholen vermeindlich understehen, &c."—"I am not unaware, true-hearted reader, with what eager, but for the most part fallacious hopes, enquiries have been made up to the present hour after the College, or dwelling of the so much talked of Rosicrucians, and that by people both of high and low rank; I am not unaware of this, I say, seeing that scarcely a day passes at Frankfort, Leipzig, and other known places, but particularly in the city of Prague, when ten, twelve, nay twenty, or even more, persons of all sorts do not fancy they can get information of such matters from printsellers, book-keepers, engravers, &c."

withheld them, innocently, or sarcastically, observing that so wise a brotherhood could have no difficulty in discovering who were their correspondents. There are few of our readers, we suspect, who will feel much surprise at being told that no one received any answer to such enquiries, however earnestly or craftily he might frame them. Yet to say the truth, there was little want either of ardour or cunning amongst the curious. Some protested that they possessed secrets of great value, and were quite ready to enter into an exchange of philosophic commodities with the Rosicrucians; others ingeniously put forth suppositions as to the whereabouts and objects of the brotherhood, manifestly with the hope of drawing them into a correspondence, if it were only to contradict such surmises. It was the sun and the wind alternately shining and blowing upon the traveller to make him fling off his cloak, but in this case the fable proved no true precedent. At length some doubting spirits entered into the fray, and pointed out the improbabilities and contradictions of the story—that is, so far as regarded the existence of a so-called Rosicrucian brotherhood; they could not attempt to deny that the cabalistical and alchemical juggle was an old affair. In truth the whole question lies in a nutshell, and may be easily disposed of, though partly as a matter of curiosity, and partly to leave no room for doubt or cavil in what is to be hereafter said of the Freemasons, I have entered somewhat fully—perhaps too fully—into the details. If such a thing ever were in Germany as a society of Rosicrucians, it could not have been before the date assigned to it in the FAMA, since *that* is the only authority we have for its existence; the first part of the enquiry then is settled at once; but the more important half, that which regards the entity of the brotherhood, must depend upon the character and intention of the FAMA. Upon this subject there can

hardly be a reasonable doubt; the whole work bears the strongest internal evidence of being nothing more than a playful effusion of the fancy, the subject being naturally enough borrowed from one of the most popular superstitions of the day. I can see no symptoms of satire in it more than in any fairy tale, and still less can I agree with Buhle that Andreä, or whoever was its author, wished to pave the way for the formation of a moral and philosophical society, and, to make his design more generally palatable, sweetened it by the introduction of alchemy. But whatever theory we adopt in this respect, it still comes to the same end; the FAMA was not intended to describe a society really existing.

It would signify little whether Andreä was, or was not, the author of the FAMA, except that in connection with him a derivation of the word *Rosicrucian* has been given, which does not seem wanting in probability. His family arms were a Saint Andrew's *cross* with four *roses*, and Buhle, as well as others, has supposed that it was to them and their symbolical interpretation that he owed the idea of the phrase, *Rosæ-Crux*. In this they alluded to Luther's well-known lines,

> "Des Christen Herz auf Rosen geht
> Wenn's mitten unter'm Kreutze steht."*

But allowing that Andreä coined the name of his new sect from his own arms, I doubt much Luther's lines having any thing to do with the matter. Both in ancient and modern times the rose was a religious symbol. It was carried by the Pope in his hand when walking in procession on Mid-lent Sunday, and it was worn at one time by the English clergy in their buttons. Fuller, too, in his *Pisgah sight of Palestine*, calls Christ "that prime

* "The heart of the Christian goes upon roses
When it stands close beneath the cross."

rose and lily."* Its connection, therefore, with Christianity as an emblem is obvious; but for its meaning we must go back to the Greeks and Romans, from whom it was borrowed, like so many other things of the same kind. "Est rosa flos Veneris," says the poet. And why was it so? † because it originally meant that generative power which was typified in Venus, the whole class of heathen deities being only so many personifications of the attributes of the ONE. Thus Minerva symbolized his wisdom; Jove, his power; Hercules, his strength; and so on, till the temples became full of gods.

It adds not a little to the force of this theory that we find the *holy Virgin* of the Mexicans called Sochiquetzal,‡ which signifies the "lifting up of roses." The same name too was given to their Eve, Ysnextii, who is said to have sinned by eating roses, which roses are elsewhere termed, *Fruta del arbol*, Fruit of the tree,—i. e., I suppose, the Tree of Life. Throughout it is easy to see that the idea of the creative power was intimately connected with the rose. If, moreover, the Lotus be a water-rose, as Higgins maintains in his Anacalypsis, the question is set at rest. At the same time I must own I know no authority for such a supposition except it be in Vallancy, who in giving examples of the proper names of men derived from the names of trees says, "Susan, *lilium* vel *rosa*, uxor Joacim." §

But feasible as the conjecture may seem, which derives *Rosæ-Crux* from the roses and cross in the arms of Andreä, we may well hesitate to adopt it, in spite of all

* P. 143,—under the head of, *Zebulon*.

† *Valcknaer* in his notes upon the *Adoniaz. of Theocritus*, p. 2811, explains το ῥοδον, the rose, to mean mulieb. pudend.—so too Hesychius sub voce.

‡ *Mexican Antiq.* vol. vi. p. 120.

§ *Vallancey. Collect. de Rebus Hibern.* vol. [illegible] p. 264.

authority, when there lies close at hand an explanation so much more obvious. The rose was a term of deep alchemical import, and the cross in the same language signified *light*, because the figure of the cross was supposed to present to the eye at once the three letters, of which *lux*, or *light* is compounded. But lux among the alchemists is called the seed, or menstruum, of the dragon; or, in other words, that gross or corporeal light, which produces gold, when properly digested. The rosy cross would then be intended to express alchemically the *red dragon*, itself the symbol of the great secret of Rosicrucianism. Others, and amongst them Mosheim, hold the word to be a compound of *ros*, dew, and not of *rosa*, giving as a reason that dew was considered by the alchemists the most powerful solvent of gold. If *ros* were indeed the word intended, other causes, perhaps even more cogent, might be assigned for its adoption. According to Theodoretus, the Bishop of Cyrus in Syria, *ros* or *dew* was deemed by the Gnostics symbolical of Christ,* while the Sethians, Ophians, or Ophites, as the emblematical serpent-worshippers were variously called, held that the dew which fell from the excess of light, was *wisdom*, the hermaphroditic deity.† The cross too may be traced to the caduceus of Hermes, and might have been used as the alchemical sign for Mercury. Maier however denies that the letters R. C. were either ros, rosa, or crux, and contends that they were arbitrarily chosen as a mere mark of distinction.‡ But what opportunity had he of know-

* "Αἰνίττεται τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ διὰ τῆς δρόσου μὲν τὴν θεότητα." B. Theodoreti Quæst. in Genes. cap. xxvii. Interrog. 82, p. 91. tomus 1, Halæ. 8vo. 1772.

† *Id. Hæretic. Fabul. Compend.*, lib. i. cap. xiv., p. 307, tom. iv.

‡ "Symbolum vero et characterismus eorum mutuæ agnitionis ipsis a primo authore prescriptus est in duabus literarum notis, nempe R. C. eaque est quinta Fraternitatis lex et positio; idque ideo, ne

ing his founder's purpose better than ourselves? At the same time it must be allowed he cuts the Gordian knot, which it is hardly possible to untie. Where symbols are to be explained, there is no end of conjecture.

In whatever way the appellation may have been derived there does not seem from the first to have been any very great struggle for the antiquity of the order. Upon this point the proof is more than negative, for we have abundant instances where Rosicrucian advocates speak of it as being new. Thus in the title-page of a letter from Julian a Campis to the seekers after the brotherhood, he says "Sendbrieff, oder Bericht an Alle welche von der *neuen Bruderschafft* des Ordens vom Rosen-Creutz genannt

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omnino Anonymi essent, cum nomen auctoris latere sit necessarium, tum pro continuatione societatis tum tutela. Interim fruerentur his binis adminiculis, quæ pro cujusque captu interpretationem admitterent. Nec enim diù abfuit, cum primum hæc Fraternitas per aliquod scriptum emanavit, quin mox interpres illorum se obtulerit, qui ea Roseam Crucem significare conjecerit, cum R. rosas et C. crucem designent, in quâ opinione hucusque res permansit, licet ipsi testentur fratres in posterioribus scriptis se ita perperam vocitari, sed R.C. denotare nomen sui primi authoris symbolicè." *Themis Aurea*, Authore M. Maiero, Francofurti, 1618, p. 156. "Their symbol and character of mutual agnition was prescribed to them by their first author in two initials, namely R.C. and that is the fifth law and position of the Fraternity. This was done that they might not be altogether anonymous, since it was necessary the founder's name should be secret both for the continuance of the society and as a safeguard; in the meanwhile they could use these two stays, which every one might explain according to his own notions. Nor was it long—the society becoming known by their writings—before an interpreter offered himself, who conjectured that they meant the rosy cross, since *R.* might designate roses, and *C.* a cross, which opinion has hitherto prevailed, although the Brothers in their later writings have protested that to call them thus was wrong, and that R.C. denoted the name of their founder symbolically."

The reader has here a large variety of opinions, and must indeed be hard to please if he do not find one amongst them to his taste.

etwas gelesen &c.*—that is, a Letter or Instructions, to all who have read of the *new* Brotherhood of the Order of the Rosy-Cross; or who have, &c.

Abandoning this design, if they ever entertained it, they attempted to prove, what was scarcely less difficult, that their religious philosophy had existed from the earliest periods. The most modest, or at least the most prudent, of them in efforts of this kind was the physician, Michael Maier, who contended that Adam understood all the mysteries of air and earth, as also his own anatomy, both internal and external,† leaving it to be inferred that alchemy also was amongst his acquirements. Next to Adam in knowledge was Solomon, whom the doctor supposes to have discussed Rosicrucian mysteries with queen Saba, and Hiram the Tyrian; and, following up this idea, he brings forward the whole party in learned converse, mutually propounding and expounding upwards of three hundred philosophic enigmas. The nature of this high colloquy may be imagined from one or two instances,—"Quid de tincturâ volatili statuis? an ea figi possit?" what do you determine of the volatile tincture? can it be fixed? "Cur animam lapidis vocas unguentum?" why

* This little tract forms part of the *Fama*, or more correctly speaking, is appended to it, and therefore the society, supposing it to exist at all, was new in 1617.

† "Item aeris meteora, terræ fossilia, vegetabilia, animalia, et denique seipsum, hoc est hominis membrorum et *viscerum*, nomina et proprietates optime novit." *Septimana Philosophica*, Authore Mich. Maiero. Francofurti, 1620, 4to.—Præfatio.—"Also he well knew the meteors of the air, the fossils, vegetables, and animals, of the earth, and lastly himself; that is to say, the names and properties of the limbs and internal parts of man." There is something exceedingly original and striking in the notion of Adam's being so well acquainted with his own inside, and that too before he had eaten of the tree of knowledge. After this, one finds no difficulty in believing he was an alchemist—or indeed any thing that the learned doctor pleases.

do you call the soul of a stone an ointment?—"Quis est pater lapidis, et quis avus? who is the father, and who is the grandfather of the stone, &c. &c. the answers to these, and the like, propositions being to the full as amusing and instructive as the propositions themselves. The whole is yet farther illustrated by an engraved border to the title page, showing Solomon on his throne, the lady at his right hand, and the builder at his left, while Rosicrucians, or sages of some sort, are seated around at their writing-desks, busy, as it seems, in noting down so valuable a conversation.

But while the Rosicrucians strove hard to prove that their secret knowledge was derived from Adam, or at least from Solomon, and that their sect had existed from all times, though under other names, they yet seemed for a long while after the appearance of the FAMA to abandon the idea of a Rosicrucian lodge, or as they called it, *College*. They were, according to their own account, a set of men, having the same object, and often, but not necessarily, in communication with each other; and even while they promulgated a code of laws, by which they professed to be governed, they were still fain to allow that they had no general home or place of meeting. This is distinctly admitted by Schweighart,* and

* "Wiss demnach Kunst-und-Gott-liebende Brüder, dass ob woll, laut Ausschriebens der Brüder die incorporirte Versamblung aller Rosen-Creutze noch der zeit an einem gewissen Ort nicht angestelt, ein treuherziger, frommer, und auffrichtiger Mensch dennoch leichtlich, und ohne grosse muhe, mit dergleichen fratre kan zu red kommen." *Speculum Sophicum, &c.*, Schweighardt, p. 7. "Know then art-and-God-loving brethren, that although according to the manifestos of the Brothers the incorporated assembly of all Rosicrucians has not hitherto been appointed for any fixed place, still a true-hearted, pious, and upright man may easily, and without much trouble, come to speech of one of them." Now here, it must be allowed, there is

the same thing appears constantly in the writings of Maier * and the other Paracelsists, who, as they could nowhere find the brotherhood announced by the fictitious Father Christian, gladly accepted the name of Rosicrucians, and endeavoured to form a society for themselves upon his model. To this they were the more easily led by the exact similarity of their views, as indeed it could not well be otherwise when the author of the FAMA had done little more than give a locality with a few fanciful adjuncts to the well-known doctrines and pretensions of the alchemists.

Having thus provided themselves with a home, although it must be reckoned amongst the chateaux en Espagne, it was natural enough that the Paracelsists, or Rosicrucians, as we must now call them, should set about furnishing it, and with articles of the same fanciful nature. To drop all metaphor upon a subject, of itself sufficiently unintelligible, the Rosicrucian writers in their accounts of the brotherhood did not fail to eke out their imperfect hints of a hidden art or science with a variety of symbols, a practice which had long been familiar to them as alchemists, and which was in all probability

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the distinct assertion of a body, but a body that had no place of meeting seems like none at all. Setting this, however, aside, it clearly shows the non-existence of any Rosicrucian lodge or college.

* Michael Maier was a native of Rendsberg in Holstein, a physician by profession, and like so many other medical men of the 17th century, devoted to alchemy, theosophy, and the mysteries of the Cabala. Möller (*Cimbria Literata*, vol. i. p. 377) says, he was also a poet, a philologist, and in chemistry one of the greatest men of his age.—"Medicus fuit planè eximius, philologusque, et poeta haud vulgaris, chymicus autem coævis fere omnibus superior." In addition to all these accomplishments, if we may believe the same authority, he possessed the secret of the philosopher's stone. He died at Magdeburg in 1622.

borrowed by them from the Egyptian custom * of veiling their religious mysteries under hieroglyphics. "Omne ignotum pro magnifico" is a maxim that was acted upon by most people long before it was enuntiated by Tacitus; but there can be little doubt that the Rosicrucians deceived themselves to a certain extent as well as others, so much more easily are men led away by sensible signs than by abstract principles.

It would be tedious, and quite unnecessary for the present purpose, to enter into all the Rosicrucian symbols. The principal, and those which alone we shall have occasion to refer to, were the globe, the circle, the compasses, the square, the triangle, the level, and the plummet. In the *Atalanta Fugiens* of Maier, (Emblem xxi.) we find the most of them. A sage is employed in the manufacture of the philosopher's stone, as may be

* But this love of the mysterious was not the only cause that led to the use of symbols. Men are for the most part unable, or at least unwilling, to entertain abstract ideas, and they must have things presented in a visible and tangible form before it has any existence for them. Hence in all times has arisen the popular tendency to multiply the ONE into many by giving form and substance to his attributes; and thus the worship of the Godhead, which was in all probability common to most nations, has in so many instances degenerated into polytheism. Amongst the Jews there was a constant struggle between this natural weakness and the ordinances of pure theism; they were for ever lapsing into idol-worship in spite of the most terrible denunciations, and the same feeling has led the Catholics on so many occasions to adopt under another form so much of the pagan principle; where the one deified human beings, the others elevated them to Saints and martyrs and implored their intercession. Nor is it just to visit this with any degree of harshness upon the latter. It is scarcely possible to maintain the pure and abstract idea of the Deity in the minds of uneducated men; so that one of two things seems to be inevitable; they must either have something tangible presented to their senses, or they become the wildest visionaries and fanatics, with a belief as incomprehensible to themselves as it is to others.

learnt from the two-fold inscription—Latin and German—at the top of the page.* Indeed without some such help it would hardly have been possible to guess what was intended by the engraving. Within a small circle stand a man and woman in the primitive costume of Paradise, just born as we may suppose by some magic process, and intended to symbolize the first step of the experiment. About this couple is a square, enclosed in a triangle, and about the triangle again is a second circle, which the sage is carefully measuring with a pair of Brobdinagian compasses, if the relative proportions of the objects around are to go for any thing. Upon the floor are scattered the other emblems of his occupation.

Thus far we have seen Rosicrucians, but no traces whatever of a Rosicrucian lodge or college. Buhle however positively asserts † that, though such a thing was a mere fable in Germany, it became a positive fact,—that is to say, did really exist,—in England. But of this he offers no proof whatever, and an assertion of such a kind is hardly to be taken without some sort of proof, either negative or affirmative. I can find no traces of it. The thing that comes nearest to it is the "Astrologer's Feast," the existence of which is proved by a passage in Ashmole's Diary, August 8th. "I being at the *Astrologer's Feast* was chosen steward for the next year." ‡

* "Fac ex mare et fœminâ circulum, inde quadrangulum, hinc triangulum, fac circulum, et habebis lap. Philosophorum."—i.e. "Make of man and woman a circle; thence, a square; thence a triangle; form a circle; and you have the Philosopher's Stone."—Nothing on earth can be more easy than the complying with these conditions, which of course are to be considered as the emblems merely of something unexpressed. Not belonging to the Brotherhood we are unable to interpret these high matters.

† Buhle, "Ueber den Ursprung der R. C. und Freimaurer," p. 244.

‡ *Life of Elias Ashmole*, p. 310. 8vo. London, 1774.

Still, though no Rosicrucian college existed in England more than in Germany, there was little want of Rosicrucians, that being quite another thing, as we have shown already. The leaders of the sect, Dr. Flood, John Pordage, and the two Nortons, all of whom are duly recorded by Wood in his Athenæ Oxonienses, had the mania of proselytizing strong upon them, and were indefatigable in the promulgation of their doctrines. Flood, by far the ablest of them, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of Gassendi, who took up the cudgels for his friend, Mersenne, when the latter had been routed, and with no little loss, by the doctor. But though Gassendi did his best to castigate Flood, he did not altogether spare his friend, Mersenne, even while throwing his ægis over him—whether from candour or from policy is another question. Remarking upon the acerbity of Flood's style, he yet delicately hints to Mersenne, that he has given a handle for it himself, inasmuch as he has been somewhat pungent in his own remarks; and he then goes on to say that much as he admires his zeal, still it is very hard for any one living in a Christian land to hear himself called "a foul magician, the doctor and teacher of a horrid stinking magic," to say nothing of the charge of heresy and atheism.* These are things, he says, which might stir the patience of a Rufinus or a Hieronymus; and possibly the reader will be of the same opinion.

* "Sane verò hoc, mi Mersenne, negare non licet, quin tu ipse ita scribendi ansam aliquam feceris. Reverà enim dici potes paulo acriùs illum tetigisse. Ac zelus quidem, quo evectus es, commendari cum debeat, attamen te latere non potest quin admodùm durum sit viventi in Christiano orbe appellari *Caconiagum*, *Hæretico-Magum*, seu, *fœtidæ et horrendæ Magiæ Doctorem* et propagatorem; audire, non esse ferendum hujusmodi doctorem impune...ut nihil dicam de Atheïsmo atque Hæresi quam tu quoque objicis Fluddo!" *Fluddanæ Philosophiæ Examen.—P. Gassendi Opera*, tom. iii. p. 215, folio. *Lugduni*, 1658.

A conflict begun in so much bitterness was not likely to die away for want of fuel. In a short time it spread, like an Irish fray, from individuals to the multitude, and what Benedict styles "the paper-bullets of the brain," flew fast and thick on all sides. Naude, Valentine Alberti, Irenæus Agnostus, and Heaven knows how many others,* dull and witty, learned and unlearned, credulous and sceptical, now poured like two opposing torrents into the field, 'till, after the expenditure of much ink and some humour on the part of the assailants, the poor Rosicrusians were utterly put to the rout. So complete, indeed, was their discomfiture, that they were fain to drop a name which had become contemptible, and shroud themselves under the title of Sapientes. "We R. C." says Flood, in reply to the terrible Gassendi, who had been soundly pommelling him in his *Examen*—"We brothers R. C., formerly thus called, but whom we now term *Sapientes*, that name being laid aside as odious to wretched mortals covered with the veil of ignorance,"† &c.

But even this appellation does not seem to have lasted long, or to have been very general, for we soon lose every trace of it, and most probably because it was swallowed

* As some readers may be curious on this subject, I subjoin the names of a few only of such publications. 1. *Roseæ-Crucis*, das ist *Bedenken* der gesambten Societet von dem verdekten scribtore F. Menapio, 12mo. 1619. The place of publication not mentioned, but two other similar tracts form part of the same volume. Menapius was the assumed name of Alberti, and the name of Schweighardt is jestingly affixed to the third tract. 2. *Fons Gratiæ*, &c. Durch Irenæum Agnostum, 1619,—no place of publication, 12mo. 3. *Portus Tranquillitatis*, &c. by the same, 1620, 12mo. 4. *Chymische Hochzeit*, 12mo. 1616. This is one of Andreä's anonymous attacks upon the Fraternity.

† "Fratres, inquam, R.C. (olim sic dicti), quos nos hodiè Sapientes vocamus, omisso illo nomine tanquam odioso, miseris mortalibus velo ignorantiæ obductis, et in oblivione hominum jam fere sepulto." *Clavis Philosophiæ*, n. 50. folio. Francofurti. 1633.

up in the new Fraternity of Freemasons, which now seems to have sprung out of Rosicrucianism and the yearly meeting of Astrologers. It is about this time that we have the first authentic reports of Masonic Lodges in the modern acceptation of the term, not as designating a guild of workmen, but a body of philosophers with whom building and its various implements were used only as a myth, as external symbols, the outward and visible signs of concealed truth. A variety of concurrent circumstances seem to prove this; and particularly the quiet extinction of the *Sapientes* or *Sophees*, and as also of the Astrologers' Meeting, the sudden recognized appearance of lodges, and the avowed character of the first known members as Paracelsists; for Fludd, Ashmole, Pordage, and others, were all ardent Rosicrucians in principle, though the name was no longer owned by them. Still this does not give us the date of the first Freemasons with the exactness that might be desired, and I fear it will be in vain to look for it. The German Freemasons at Wilhelmsbad in 1782, and the *Lodge of the Contract Social* at Paris, in 1787, each summoned a general meeting of the Brethren from all countries, to enquire into the time and manner of their origin, but, as might have been expected, to no purpose. The founders in their wish to establish a descent from the oldest times, as the best means of sanctifying their claims to sûperior wisdom, had taken care to leave no traces of their origin. In the absence, therefore, of all that is *positive*, we must try what can be done by negative proof and by the help of circumstantial evidence; we shall thus come quite near enough to the period of their origin for any useful purpose. Through the rest of this enquiry we shall use the word, *mason*, as designating the *workman*, and the word *Freemason*, as signifying the *philosopher* who employs masonry for the mythus of his order; thus too, we shall adopt *guild* to express the society of the former, and *lodge* or *brotherhood*, to denote

the fraternity of the latter; such distinctions are not perhaps quite correct in point of fact, but they will be sufficient to make the reader clearly understand of which party we are speaking, and with that view only are they adopted.

The sum of the Freemasons' doctrine, to simplify the subject as much as possible, is that their society combined originally two principles, — the practical part of building, which they also used as a myth, and a knowledge of certain divine and philosophic truths denied to the rest of mankind. According to some of them, both the mystery and the order itself originated in the building of the tower of Babel; according to others, they both came from Adam, who, whatever else he may have been, certainly does not seem, for anything we know, to have been a builder. We had better therefore begin at Babel, whence they tell us the art was carried into Egypt, and there Hiram, the grand master, learnt it and brought it to Jerusalem. But here in the outset we come suddenly upon a stumbling-block. Did the Egyptians receive only that part of Freemasonry, which relates to building, or did they also receive the diviner and philosophic portions? If we adopt the latter supposition, we must then believe that the idolatrous Egyptians had a purer code of morals, and a nearer knowledge of the Deity than any Christians, who have not the good fortune to be Freemasons. As such a creed would hardly suit the brotherhood, we will imagine that the building part of the story alone came from Babel through the Egyptians. But how then was the diviner part of the mystery transmitted from Adam to Solomon? It is plain too that the Jewish monarch knew nothing of practical masonry, since he was obliged to call in Hiram to his assistance. Are we then to suppose that Solomon united his speculative wisdom to the mechanic knowledge of the Tyrian, and thus produced Freemasonry? What on earth was gained by the union of speculative wisdom with

a mechanic occupation? But, say the Freemasons, it was the Masons who taught mankind every art and science. Aye, indeed! in that case, as Solomon was not a mason, it must have been the pagan Hiram—the builder of temples to Hercules and Astarte, the worshipper of Jupiter,—who first taught the Christian art of Freemasonry, and not Solomon.

As we proceed the same sort of difficulties follows us, and increases at every step. The art of *Masonry* never was a secret, since it was openly practised and taught both by Greeks and Romans, and therefore could have formed no essential part of Freemasonry; here then breaks down all connexion between the brotherhood and the building of Solomon's temple, except as a mere myth, under which they concealed their philosophy. But where and with whom did the secret lie hid through those ages, when the whole civilized world was either Pagan or Judaic? if not preserved amongst the heathens—a very untenable position—it must have remained in the hands of the Jews, and this, as regards its preservation up to a certain period, seems to be the masonic doctrine, for Oliver in his *Antiquities* (p. 16,) tells us that Pythagoras*

* Surely this philosopher has been much over-rated. It has been considered a great merit in him that he discovered the earth went round the sun; but did he *discover* it, or only *imagine* it? was it a proved calculation, or a mere suggestion of the fancy? the two things are widely different. Friar Bacon many hundred years ago imagined the possibility of human beings flying, but this *supposition* was no *discovery*. In the same way any one may have an idea that the principle of a perpetual motion is no fallacy, but he has not the more for that found it out.

As regards the metempsychosis, it is hard to say what Pythagoras understood by it. If he really believed that the soul was a self-existent entity, independent of matter, and flying from one organization to another, as each was dissolved, he must have been a mere dreamer. But this may possibly have been nothing more than a mode of conveying to the uninformed the simple and sublime truth that soul is

learnt the secret of the Lux, i.e. freemasonry, in Judæa, and afterwards communicated it to the Druids, who of course then must also have been Freemasons. Now, everything in this statement is mere unsupported hypothesis, and that too of the most improbable kind. It is a supposition that the Jews were Freemasons; it is a supposition that Pythagoras learnt the craft from the Jews; it is a supposition that he taught it to the Druids; it is a supposition that the Druids ever knew any thing about such a pretended mystery. Even if we admit these unproved and very improbable assertions, we have to learn how the secret was transmitted from the priests of paganism to the followers of Christianity? Where are the evidences of such a transmission? and in the total absence of any thing of the kind, by what rule of logic are we to be led into the belief of so monstrous an improbability? Nor is this the only absur-

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only an *attribute* or *property* of matter, inherent in it and inseparable from it—that quality in fact which compels matter perpetually into fresh organizations, and which differs from life only as life is a result, seen in a particular combination of atoms, while soul is the all-pervading principle. It could not have escaped the early philosophers that break up matter as you will, you cannot crush the vital principle out of it, though mind and the sentient power are strictly dependent upon organization. They must have seen that though the human brain mouldered into a myriad forms, all equally full of life, yet none of these forms had the same degree of intelligence with the atoms in their former combination. In this sense—namely as an attribute of matter—soul is intelligible enough; but as an independent entity we can have no idea of it, and they who have talked the most positively upon the subject—the deceived or the deceivers of all times—have never explained what they meant by soul. It was not matter, it was not life, it was not intelligence. Then what was it? they could not say. How were they conscious of its existence? they did not know. In other words, they had an idea of something of which they had no idea, a very satisfactory and philosophical conclusion. Let me not, however, be misunderstood; I am neither calling in question the beautiful doctrines of Christianity, nor denying the immortality of the soul. My arguments rather go to maintain both.

dity of the fiction. If Pythagoras obtained the *lux*, the real light, he must have been able to distinguish truth from error. But he believed in the metempsychosis, and his belief therefore is a sufficient voucher for its truth. Will the Freemasons allow this? did they receive from him the doctrine of metempsychosis,* a genuine part and parcel of his system, and do they now put any faith in it? Let my words, however, be taken as intended; I do not for a moment deny the possibility of the Druids having been taught a part at least of what they knew by Pythagoras; it has been so affirmed by Higgins and other writers, and we know from Cæsar that they made use of the Greek letters.†

Even then the Freemasons will have to show their connexion with the Druids. But this they can not do. Whenever they have attempted to give a history of their brotherhood prior to 1630, it has always been a history of architecture. They have traced the various buildings, and styles of building, from one period to another, as if that established the existence of their order. Wherever they could find any society, of which architects, or masons, were members, they have always affected to consider it as a branch of their fraternity. Thus Higgins, who, with little faith in anything else, is yet a stanch believer in the free-masonic nonsense, would fain connect his brotherhood with the so-called *mathematicians*, that is *astrologers*, that gave so much trouble in Rome. To be sure both Tacitus and Suetonius describe them as having

* Some have endeavoured to give another signification to the metempsychosis, and suppose it means, not the transmigration of the soul from one body to another, but a new birth in another cycle or world. (See *Higgins's Anacalypsis*, vol. i. p. 790.) But this leaves the great point of absurdity undisturbed.

† *De Bello Gallico*, lib. vi.—xiv.

been a set of vagabonds,* against whom the senate found it requisite to enact severe laws in the vain hope of expelling them from the city. But we are to disbelieve all such authorities and hold fast by the new faith.

In the same way Higgins will have it that the Freemasons were connected with the Templars, who had also the misfortune of labouring under a particularly bad character. In claiming the relationship, therefore, it became a matter of policy to make their faces white, as a Persian would say, and above all to repel the ferocious attacks of Von Hammer, who had certainly made out a very ugly case against them.† The laborious German sets out with saying that no doubt there were many good and simple folks among them, who were acquainted with the exoteric doctrines only

* "Facta," says Tacitus, "et de *mathematicis magisque* Italia pellendis, Senatus consulta, quorum e numero L. Pituanius saxo dejectus est." *Annalium*, lib. ii. s. 32. Again "Urgentibus etiam mathematicis, dum novos motus et clarum Othoni annum observatione siderum affirmant; genus hominum *potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax*, quod in civitate nostrâ et vetabitur semper, et retinebitur." *Hist.* lib. i. sec. 22. A pretty set of kinsfolk the Freemasons must have had by their own showing. Even if we suppose the historian to have been too severe a judge, still the law against these vagabonds cannot be denied, and the whole Roman senate thus become witnesses against them. Nor can we attribute this edict to the ill will of the emperor, for at a yet earlier period similar enactments had been made against them. Valerius Maximus in his chapter upon Religion says, "C. Cornelius Hispallus, prætor peregrinus, M. Popilio Lænate, Cn. Calpurnio Coss. edicto *Chaldæos*—(this is the same fraternity) intra decimum diem abire ex urbe atque Italia jussit: levibus et ineptis ingeniis, fallaci siderum interpretatione, quæstuosam mendaciis suis caliginem injicientes." *Val. Maxim. de Deitis*, &c. lib. i. cap. iii. s. 2. But I might go on and fill pages with authorities for the utter worthlessness of these Mathematici or Chaldæi, who yet, according to Higgins, were Freemasons under another name.

† *Fundgruben des Orients.* Sechster Band. *Mysterium Baphometis Revelatum.*

of the order, and these he admits were both moral and religious. But then he contends that the Templars had an esoteric faith, which was the exact reverse; and he proves it, I think, very sufficiently, from sculptures, stones, brasses, and a variety of idolatrous images, called *Baphomets*, which he explains to have been so named from two Greek words, signifying the "baptism of *Mete*, or *Mind*."* This he supposes, with every appearance of reason, to have reference to the *spiritual lustration by fire* of the Gnostics, and in some of their sculptures we see goblets full of the etherial fire, and children about to undergo this heretical form of baptism. On other stones we find the hermaphrodite God of the Hindoos and Egyptians, and indeed all the symbols of some secret faith quite opposite to Christianity. Now in what way were such evidences as these to be disposed of?—simply by supposing that these idols were merely the material symbols of a spiritual philosophy, this being Mr. Higgins's mode of cutting every Gordian knot that troubles him. The Bible, the Koran, the Iliad, nay three parts of the characters that figure in poem or history are all so many emblems—mere shadows, not substances. But if we allow all this, the Gnostic worship was not exactly the creed of Moses or of Jesus. This connection, therefore, would be fatal to the extreme Christianity of the Freemasons.

Not contented with having established these doubtful relations for the brotherhood, the author of the *Anacalypsis*, next proceeds to identify them with the Assassins; but first, according to custom, he attempts to free the latter from the stains upon their character—in fact, to upset all history in regard to them. In Von Hammer's "History of the Assassins," he found an account of a certain *House of*

* Βαφη μητεος, i. e. tinctura, seu baptisma Metis.

Wisdom that had been formed at Cairo towards the end of the tenth century by Hakem, and had thus arisen. Under Maimun, the seventh Abasside caliph, a certain Abdallah established a secret society, and divided his doctrines into seven degrees, after the fashion of Pythagoras and the Indian schools. The last degree inculcated the vanity of all religion, and the indifference of actions, which he would have it, are neither visited with recompense nor chastisement here or hereafter.* He appointed emissaries, whom he sent abroad to enlist disciples, initiating them in the different degrees according to their aptitude.† In a little time these doctrines were improved upon, and Karmath, one of the most distinguished of his followers, contended of the Koran, as the most learned Jews did of Genesis, that it was to be understood allegorically, and in this way, as there is no limit to symbolical interpretation, they made the Koran say exactly what they pleased. The injunction to prayer meant nothing but obedience to a certain mysterious Imam, whom they pretended to be seeking; the injunction of alms-giving meant paying to him his tithes; and the command to fast signified silence as in regard to the Ismaelitish secrets. The Karmathites, the more violent branch of this sect, entering into open war with the Caliphs to subvert both the throne and religion, were at length rooted out with fire and the sword. But the more prudent portion, which worked in secret, under the general name of Ismaelites,

* Such too, or nearly such, was the ethic teaching of the Gnostics, who contended that *prudence* alone was virtue. "Hæc autem erat Gnosticorum doctrina ethica, quod omnem virtutem in prudentia sitam esse credebant, quam Ophitæ per *Metem* (Sophiam) et serpentem exprimebant, desumpto iterum ex Evangelii præcepto; *estote prudentes ut serpentes*,—ob innatam hujus animalis astutiam."—*Fundgruben des Orents*, tom. vi. p. 85.

† Hammer, Hist. of the Assassins, p. 43.

were at length fortunate enough to place one of their sect upon the throne. They had now their *Societies of Wisdom,* which they held openly twice a week, and in process of time erected a large building, which they called the *House of Wisdom,** furnished with books, mathematical instruments, professors, and attendants. Men and women were equally admitted to the use of these literary treasures, without charge, and the caliphs held here public disputations, at which the professors were present, divided into their different classes of logicians, mathematicians, legalists, and physicians, all in their robes, a costume which is said to have descended from them to our English universities. So far it was a public institution, different in nothing from academies, except in the slight article of dispensing its literary wares without charge to its customers. The candidate for the real mysteries had to pass through nine several degrees—the seven had now grown into that number—till he learnt the grand secret of atheism, and a code of morals, which may be summed up in a few words, as believing nothing and daring every thing. But the object of the founders was chiefly political—to obtain fit partisans for overthrowing the house of Abbas in favour of the Fatemites; and this could be done only by undermining the strong-grounded belief in the prevailing religion, for Mahomet had, like the Jews, deposited the power of the throne and the power of the altar in the same hand. To pull down the one it was indispensable first to destroy the other.

This society becoming in process of time troublesome to the government was broken up; or rather, their lodge was closed, for in about a year they were again enabled to open a new one, which was called *Darolilm Jedide,* or the *New House of Sciences.* Hammer thinks that it is free-

* Hammer, Hist. of the Assassins, p. 43.

masonic, and what is more strange, Higgins, himself a freemason, quotes it as such. It was from this brotherhood and their lessons that the Assassins sprang, and surely this is not a genealogy for the very Christian Freemasons to be proud of. The tigress does not usually bring forth lambs. But, nothing daunted by such considerations, Higgins maintains that it was a link which connected ancient and modern Freemasonry, and makes out, I know not on what authority, that the Assassins were an amiable race.* I can however easily believe that the atheism, and unlimited profligacy, of which von. Hammer accuses them, is the mere invention of their religious enemies, who naturally enough detested a sect having more philosophic ideas of the Deity than themselves. We have only to imagine what in our own more enlightened days would be said of any body of men, who were known to believe simply in a Creator. All their immoralities would be attributed to their creed, while men, who added to their vices those of fanaticism or hypocrisy, would be deemed infinitely their superiors.

There is yet another way in which this question is to be viewed, and which at once reveals the nature of the Freemasons' secret beyond the shadow of dispute. All their historians, as we have already noticed, allow their connection with the Druids, who had their knowledge from Pythagoras, who himself had it from the Jews or the Egyptians. Now the creed of Pythagoras is well known to every scholar, if not in its details, at least in its general principles. He taught the unity of the Godhead, and explained away the whole host of gods worshipped by the people and all their forms of religion into so many myths and symbols. Mosheim in his Commentaries (Cent. ii. Sect. xxxv.) compares the secret

* P 700, vol. i.

doctrines of Moses and Plato, while both Clemens Alexandrinus and Philo Judeus held that they were the same as the esoteric doctrines of the Christians. The like is affirmed by Origen. Such was the philosophy that Pythagoras had learned in Egypt, and which had descended to Plato, for the Egyptian priests had their esoteric and exoteric doctrine, a refined and philosophic faith for the initiated, and a coarse material belief for the people. Such too was the case with the Jewish priesthood. Maimonides expressly says that things are not to be taken to the letter in Genesis,* as the vulgar imagine, and whoever by chance stumbles on the truth is on no account to reveal it.† This knowledge was in fact the original and proper Cabala, according to which, among other religio-philosophic mysteries, a number of *Sephiroths*, *Æons*, or *Emanations*, flowed from God, a doctrine, which existed also among the Persians, as well as the Manichæans, and almost all the Gnostic sects of Christians. In fact there can be little doubt that the Cabala concealed also the secret of the immortality of the soul. At least we find nothing of a future existence in the spirit, mentioned throughout the Pentateuch, although Moses must have been taught this doctrine by the Egyptians, long before he entered upon his sacred mission. Indeed he did but imitate them when he taught one thing to the people, and another to the initiated. In all the early

* It may perhaps be to the convenience of my readers, as it certainly will be to my own, if instead of quoting the original Hebrew, I give the Latin version of the learned Buxtorf,—"Non omnia secundùm litteram intelligenda et accipienda esse qui dicuntur in opere BERESCHITH seu CREATIONIS, sicut vulgus hominum existimat." *More Nevochim*, Pars ii. cap. xxix.

† "Quicunque verò aliquam in illis scientiam habet, cavere debet ne illa divulget." Id.

periods, and we might add in every subsequent age till the discovery of printing, ignorance was the rule, and knowledge the exception. The class, which possessed information, kept it jealously to themselves as an instrument of power. But in time followed the natural and inevitable consequence; knowledge, thus confined to a few, degenerated, and finally perished, for knowledge like some plants soon tires of any particular soil, however congenial to it, and can be preserved in all its vigour only by frequent transplantation. In the end the priests became nearly as ignorant as those they had been deluding.

But this double meaning of a text was not confined to the priests of Egypt nor to the Old Testament. The early Fathers of the Church held that the Christian code also concealed truths not adapted to the people. In the *Constitutions*, Clemens Romanus talks of concealed meanings not to be revealed to the public.* Origen too in his attack upon Celsus admits that there were secrets in the Christian religion, and Eusebius, not quite so distinctly perhaps, talks of certain secret words of Moses.†

The Cabala then, the esoteric interpretation of the Scriptures, is the grand Freemasonic secret, and *that* is known to every scholar, who is not stone blind by bigotry, just as well as to the Freemason.

With a disingenuousness not very creditable to the

* See *Opera S. Patrum*—J. Cortellerius, tom. i. p. 454. It should be mentioned however that this work has by many critics been pronounced spurious. Still whether it be, or be not, the composition of Clement, who lived in the time of St. Paul, it is of old date, and may be received as proving the opinion of the age in which it was written.

† Μωσεως κατά τινας ἀποῤῥητους λόγους. — *Eusebii Præp. Evangel.* lib. xii. cap. 11.

Freemasons, they have endeavoured so to confound their order with the *guilds* of *masons*, that they may appear to be one and the same thing, for by no other mode can they prove even a moderate antiquity for themselves, the earliest authentic record of Freemasonic existence being in the time of Flood and Ashmole. In this way they contrive to unite themselves with the time of the sixth Henry, pretending that the guilds, which then no doubt existed, were in fact lodges, though there is not the slightest appearance of those that formed them being either wiser or better than their neighbours; on the contrary, their conduct was so outrageous that an act was passed with the title "Masons shall not confederate in chapters and congregations." * But perhaps we shall be told that the meetings, which gave so much offence, were workmen only, and not genuine Freemasons. We will not stop to ask the assertors of such a fact how they came to the knowledge of it, though nothing could well seem more fallacious, but, accepting their dictum without dispute, we should like to enquire at what time did the speculative portion separate from the mechanic part of their fraternity?† Surely the sages might tell us thus much; it must have been by far too important an event not to have left some record behind it, and the burthen of proof is upon them, for all the Freemasons abroad allow that they got their masonic knowledge from England.

But how will they prove that they ever were united? or in other words, how will they show that the masonic

* So recorded by Anderson himself, the very Guy Warwick of Freemasons, who wrote cum privilegio. See his *Constitutions, &c.*, p. 107, 4to. London, 1784.

† We have the authority of Anderson's editor—at least inferentially—for their separation. "So long then," he says, "as the two professions remained united in the same persons, and until the records of the latter became distinguished."—*Constitutions. &c.*, Preface, p. viii.

guilds were any thing more than corporations of workmen, formed like other similar fraternities for the encouragement of their own peculiar art or occupation? One document, and one only, have the Freemasons been able to bring forward in evidence upon this point, and it is constantly referred to in their histories. As the question then may be said to rest upon it, I shall give the whole as it originally appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for July, 1753, and then proceed to enquire into its authenticity. The reader, however, must bear in mind that I have not been routing out from the dust of libraries some trashy record for the purpose of vilifying the sect; had it been denied, or even omitted in any of their more recent publications, I might perhaps have passed it over unnoticed; but such is not the case; it is quoted as an authority by the Rev. George Oliver so late as 1843,* besides having run the gauntlet of all their most approved historians, and I am therefore fully justified in making the most of it.

Ein Brief von dem Berühmten Herrn Johann Locke, betreffend die Frey-Mäurerei. So auf einem Schreib-Tisch eines verstorbenen Bruders ist gefunden.

That is,

A Letter of the famous Mr. John Locke relating to Free-Masonry; found in the desk or scritair of a deceased brother.

A Letter from the learned Mr. John Locke to the Rt. Hon. * * * Earl of * * * * with an old manuscript on the subject of Free-Masonry.

* "*Antiquities of Freemasonry.*"—Preface, p. vi. 8vo. London, 1843.

May 6—1696.

My Lord,

I have at length by the help of Mr. C——ns procured a copy of that MS. in the Bodleian Library, which you were so curious to see; and in obedience to your Lordship's commands I herewith send it to you. Most of the notes annexed to it, are what I made Yesterday for the Reading of my Lady Masham, who is become so fond of masonry, as to say, that she now more than ever wishes herself a man, that she might be capable of Admission into the Fraternity.

The MS., of which this is a copy, appears to be about 160 years old; yet (as your Lordship will observe by the Title) it is itself a Copy of one yet more Antient by about 100 years. For the original is said to have been the Hand-writing of K. Henry the VI.* Where that Prince had it is at present an Uncertainty; But it seems to me to be an examination (taken perhaps before the king) of some one of the Brotherhood of Masons; among whom he entered himself, as 'tis said,† when he came out of his Minority, and thenceforth put a stop to a Persecution that had been raised against them. But I must not detain your Lordship longer by my prefaces from the thing itself.

Certayne Questyons, wyth Aunsweres to the same,
Concernynge the
Mystery of Maconrye,
writtenne by the hande of Kynge Henrye, the Sixthe of the Name, and saythfullye copyed by me[1] Johan Leylande Antiquarius, by the Commande of his [2]Highnesse.

They be as followethe:—

Quest. What mote ytt be ?[3]

Ans. Ytt beeth the skylle of nature, the understandynge of the myghte that ys hereynne, and its sondrye werck-

* "Said to have been!"—and by whom? surely this was information worth imparting. And where is the original?

† "*As 'tis said*;" again!—and once more we ask, by whom? the information of this pseudo-Locke seems to be as much a matter of tradition as Freemasonry itself.

ynges; sonderlyche, the skylle of rectenyngs, of waightes, and metynges and the treu manere of faconnynge all thynges for mannes use, headlye, dwellynges, and buyldynges of all kindes, and alle odher thynges that make gudde to manne.

Quest. Where dyd ytt begynne?

Ans. Ytt dyd begynne with the [4] fyrste menne yn the este, which were before the [5] ffyrste manne of the weste, and comynge westlye ytt hathe brought herwyth alle comfortes to the wylde and comfortlesse.

Quest. Who dyd brynge ytt westlye?

Ans. The [6] Venetians, whoo beynge grate merchaundes comed ffyrste ffromme the este ynn Venetia ffor the commodytye of marchaundysynge beithe east and weste, bye the redde and myddlelonde sees.

Quest. Howe commede ytt yn Engelonde?

Ans. Peter Gower [7] a Grecian, journeyedde ffor kunnynge yn Egypte, and yn Syria, and yn everyche londe whereas the Venetians hadde plauntedde maçonrye, and wynnynge entrance yn al lodges of Maçonnes he lerned muche, and returnedde, and yn Grecia Magna [8] wachsynge and becommynge a myghtye [9] wyseacre and gratelyche renowned, and her he framed a grate Lodge at Groton [10] and maked many Maçonnes, some whereoffe dyd journeye to Fraunce, and maked many maçonnes, wherefromme, yn processe of tyme the arte passed in Englande.

Quest, Dothe Maçonnes descover here Artes unto odhers?

Ans. Peter Gower, whenne he journeyedde to lerne, was ffyrste [11] made, and anone techedde; evenne soe shulde all odhers be yn recht. Nathless [12] Maçonnes havethe alweys yn everyche tyme from tyme to tyme communycatedde to Mankynde soche of her secrettes as generallyche myghte be usefulle; they haveth keped backe soche allein as shulde be harmfulle yff they commed yn evylle haundes, oder soche as ne myghte be holpynge wythouten the techynges to be joynedde herwythe in the Lodge, oder soche as do bynde the Freres more strongelyche togeder bey the profytte and commodytye comynge to the Confrerie herfromme.

Quest. Whatte artes havethe the Maçonnes techedde mankynde?

Ans. The artes [13] Agricultura, Architectura, Astronomia, Geometria, Numeres, Musica, Poesie, Kymestrye, Governmente, and Relygyonne.

Quest. How commethe Maçonnes more teachers than odher menne?

Ans. They hemselfe haveth allein the [14] arte of fyndynge neue Artes, whyche art the ffyrste Maçonnes receaved from Godde; by the whyche they fyndethe whatte artes hem plesethe, and the treu way of techynge the same. What odher menne dothe ffynde out, ys onelyche bey chaunce, and herfore but lytel I tro.

Quest. Whatt dothe the Maçonnes concele and hyde?

Ans. They concelethe the arte of ffyndynge neue artes, and thattys for her owne proffytte and [15] preise; they concelethe the arte of kepynge secrettes, that soe the worlde mayeth nothinge concele from them. They concelethe the arte of wunderwerckynge, and of foresaying thynges to comme, that so thay same artes may not be usedde of the wyckedde to an evylle ende; they also concelethe the [17] arte of chaunges, the wey of wynnynge the facultye [18] of abrae, the skylle of becommynge gude and parfyghte wythouten the holpynges of fere and hope; and the universelle language of Maçonnes.[19]

Quest. Wylle he teche me thay same artes?

Ans. Ye shalle be techedde yff ye be werthye, and able to lerne.

Quest. Dothe alle Maçonnes kunne more than odher menne;

Ans. Not so. Thay onlyche haveth recht and occasyanne more then odher menne to kunne, but many doeth fale yn capacity, and manye more doth want industrye that is *pernecessarye* for the gaynynge all kunnynge.

Quest. Are Maçonnes gudder menne then odhers?

Ans. Some Maçonnes are nott so vertuous as some other menne; but yn the moste parte thay be more gude than thay woulde be yf thay war not Maçonnes.

Quest. Doth Maçonnes love eidther other myghtylye as beeth sayde?

Ans. Yea, verylyche, and yt may not odherwyse be; for gude menne and true, kennynge eidher odher to be soche, doeth always love the more as thay be more gude.

Here endeth the Questyonnes and Answeres.

Upon this clumsy fabrication the pseudo-Locke makes the following remarks, which are intended of course to give an air of authenticity to the text, but which in fact only help to make the forgery yet more palpable.

[1] John Leylande was appointed by King Henry the VIII. at the dissolution of monasteries to search for, and save such books and records as were valuable amongst them. He was a man of great labour and industry.

[2] "His Highness"—meaning the said King Henry the eighth. Our kings had not then the title of Majesty.

[3] "What mote ytt be?"—that is, what may this mystery of masonry be? The answer imports that it consists in natural, mathematical, and mechanical knowledge. Some part of which, as appears by what follows, the masons pretend to have taught the rest of mankind, and some part they still conceal.

[4 5] *Fyrste menne yn the Este, &c.* It should seem by this that Masons believe there were men in the east, before Adam, who is called the *ffyrste Manne of the Weste;* and that arts and sciences began in the East. Some authors of great note for learning have been of the same opinion; and it is certain that Europe and Africa (which in respect to Asia may be called western countries) were wild and savage, long after arts and politeness of manners were in great perfection in China and the Indies.

[6] *The Venetians, &c.*—In the times of monkish ignorance 'tis no wonder that the Phœnicians should be mistaken for the Venetians. Or perhaps if the people were not taken one for the other, similitude of sound might deceive the clerk,* who first took down the examination. The Phœnicians were the greatest voyagers amongst the ancients, and were in Europe thought to be the inventors

* A few minutes since we were required to believe that this document was in the hand-writing of Henry the Sixth; now we are told it was penned by a *clerk*, for be it observed he is not speaking of the copyist of the Bodleian manuscript, but of the "clerk, who first took down the examination." More than this, how happens it that *ignorant monks*, who were in constant intercourse with Rome, had heard nothing of Venice? Surely there never yet was so clumsy and palpable a fabrication.

of letters, which perhaps they brought from the east with other arts.

[7] *Peter Gower.*—This must be another mistake of the writer. I was puzzled at first to guess who Peter Gower should be, the name being perfectly English; or how a Greek should come by such a name; but as soon as I thought of Pythagoras, I could scarce forbear smiling to find that philosopher had undergone a metempsychosis he never dreamt of. We need only consider the French pronunciation of his name, Pythagore, that is, Petagore, to conceive how easily such a mistake might be made by an unlearned clerk. That Pythagoras travelled for knowledge into Egypt, &c. is known to all the learned, and that he was initiated into several different orders of priests,* who in those days kept all their learning secret from the vulgar, is as well known. Pythagoras also made every geometrical theorem a secret, and admitted only such to the knowledge of them as had first undergone a five years' silence. He is supposed to be the inventor of xlvii of the first book of Euclid, for which in the joy of his heart 'tis said he sacrificed a hecatomb. He also knew the true system of the world, lately revived by Copernicus; and was certainly a wonderful man. See his life by Dion. Hal.

[8] *Grecia Magna.*—A part of Italy formerly so called, in which the Greeks had settled a large colony.

[9] *Wyseatre.*—This word at present signifies simpleton, but formerly had a quite contrary meaning. *Weisager* in the old Saxon is Philosopher, wiseman, or wizard; and, having been frequently used ironically, at length came to have a direct meaning in the ironical sense. Thus Duns Scotus, a man famed for the subtlety and acuteness of his understanding, has by the same method of irony given a general name to modern dunces.

[10] *Groton.*—Groton is the name of a place in England. The place here meant is Crotona, a city of Grecia Magna, which in the time of Pythagoras was very populous.

[11] *Fyrste made.*—The word *made*, I suppose, has a particular meaning among the Masons; perhaps it signifies, initiated.

[12] *Maçonnes haveth communicatedde.*—This paragraph hath

* If this be true, Freemasonry must have been of all religions—in short, *deism.*

something remarkable in it. It contains a justification of the secresy so much boasted of by Masons, and so much blamed by others; asserting that they have in all ages discovered such things as might be useful, and that they conceal such only as would be hurtful either to the world or themselves. What these secrets are, we see afterwards.

[13] *The Arts; Agriculture, &c.*—It seems a bold pretence this of the Masons, that they have taught mankind all these arts. They have their own authority for it, and I know not how we shall disprove them,* but what appears most odd is that they reckon religion among the arts.

[14] *Arte of ffynding new Artes.* The art of inventing arts must certainly be a most useful art. My Lord Bacon's "Novum Organum" is an attempt towards somewhat of the same kind. But I much doubt that if ever the Masons had it, they have now lost it; since so few new arts have been lately invented, and so many are wanted. The idea I have of such an art is, that it must be something proper to be applied in all the sciences generally, as Algebra is in numbers, by the help of which new rules of arithmetic are and may be found.

[15] *Preise.* It seems the Masons have a great regard to the reputation as well as profit of their order; since they make it one reason for not divulging an art in common that it may do honour to the possessors of it. I think in this particular they show too much regard for their own society, and too little for the rest of mankind.

[16] *Arte of kepynge secrettes.* What kind of an art this is, I can by no means imagine. But certainly such an art the Masons must have; for though, as some people suppose, they should have no secret at all, even that must be a secret, which being discovered would expose them to the highest ridicule; and therefore it requires the utmost care to conceal it.

[17] *The arte of chaunges.* I know not what this means, unless it be the transmutation of metals.

[18] *Facultye of Abrac.* Here I am utterly in the dark.

[19] *Universelle longage of Maçonnes.* An universal language has been much desired by the learned of many

* Not very likely language this for the philosophic Locke to hold.

ages. 'Tis a thing rather to be wished than hoped for. But it seems the Masons pretend to have such a thing among them. If it be true, I guess it must be something like the language of the pantomimes among the ancient Romans, who are said to be able by signs only to express and deliver any oration intelligibly to men of all nations and languages. A man, who has all these arts and advantages, is certainly in a condition to be envied; but we are told this is not the case with all Masons; for though these arts are among them, and all have a right and an opportunity to know them, yet some want capacity, and others industry to acquire them. However of all their arts and secrets, that which is most desired to know is "the skylle of becommynge gude and parfyghte;" and I wish it were communicated to all mankind, since there is nothing more true than the beautiful sentence contained in the last answer,—"that the better men are, the more they love one another." Virtue having in itself something so amiable as to charm the hearts of all that behold it.

I know not what effect the sight of this old paper may have upon your lordship, but for my own part I can not deny that it has so much raised my curiosity, as to induce me to enter myself into the fraternity, which I am determined to do (if I may be admitted) the next time I go London; and that will be shortly.

I am, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant,
JOHN LOCKE.

The first thing, that must strike every one upon reading this paper is its want of all those clear and positive landmarks, which are usually supposed to confer authenticity. There is no name of the brother in whose desk it was discovered, no name of the nobleman to whom it is addressed, no name of the person by whose aid Locke is said to have found it, no explanation of the means by which it made its way into Germany, nor is any reference given that may enable us to trace out the original MS. in the Bodleian.

We are next startled by finding a Freemason, who ac-

cording to his own account is perfect in all kinds of knowledge, yet so extremely ignorant as to blunder Pytagore, the French pronunciation of Pythagoras, into Peter Gower, and mistaking the Phœnicians for the Venetians, and Croton in Greece for Groton in England. The pseudo-Locke indeed observes in his notes that this might arise from the ignorance of a monkish clerk, deceived by similarity of *sounds*, but how could this be when the original MS. is stated to have been by Henry the Sixth, and the monk, if there were any monk in the case, must have been a *transcriber?*

Scarcely less surprising is it that so profound a master of the English language as Locke, and one of such multifarious learning, should be puzzled by the word, *Abrac*,* which any moderately-informed schoolboy could have told him was an abbreviation of abracadabra. But these are trifles. If this document be authentic the heathen Pythagoras, the believer in the metempsychosis, was a Freemason, and then what becomes of the Christianity of the order? surely they will not pretend that the doctrines of Christ were known from the time of Adam downwards by a set of men, who kept the secret to themselves. Allowing them to get over this stumbling-block —no easy matter—what will they say to the next difficulty arising out of this precious document? If it be true, the Freemasons received from God "*the arte of finding neue artes*"—"*the arte of wonder werkynge*"—*the art* "*of foresayinge thynges to comme*," i.e. of prediction—"*the arte of chaunges*," i.e. of transmuting metals—and "*the wey of wynnynge the facultye of Abrac*," i.e. of Abracadabra—will the Freemasons pretend that they still possess such secrets? or will they tell us that while they have so carefully preserved their trash of symbols—their plummets, their globes, and their death's-heads—with all their oral

* Or Abrax, i.e. Abraxis, another name for Abracadabra.

explanations, from the time of Solomon, they have lost the more valuable parts of their mystery since the reign of Henry the Sixth? nay will they affirm that they believe any human beings at any period could prophecy, and make gold? Yet one of these things they must do, or allow the paper to be spurious. If they give up its authenticity, then have they lost the only link that united them historically to the working guilds, and the consequences of that we have already seen; if they maintain it to be genuine, then they are manifest charlatans who pretend, or did pretend, to the possession of the philosopher's stone. They had therefore much better abandon this unlucky document, even though by so doing they at the same time resign all connection with the guilds.

Another thing, which must strike every reader of tolerable information, is the monstrous pretence to every sort of knowledge, which according to their own account, they derived from the Jews in the time of Solomon. The learned Thomas Burnet,* no very willing witness, admits that the Jews knew nothing of mathematics or philoso-

* "Notum est vero," says the learned, but not very philosophic, Thomas, "in disciplinis Mathematicis aut Philosophicis nunquam præcelluisse hanc gentem, neque in cæterarum artium studiis, aut id genus ullo humani ingenii eximio fœtu... Quæ autem apud ipsos erant scholæ et academiæ pristinæ, non tam ad encyclopædiæ studia, ut solent hodie, formatæ et compositæ erant, quàm ad religionis instituta et dona prophetica imbibenda. Nulla enim gens per terrarum orbem, nullus populus, tantùm abundabat prophetis ac viris cælesti spiritu tactis, quantùm Judæi; ut ipsi solo et climati vis aliqua divina inhæsisse videretur."—*Archæologiæ Philosophicæ*, p. 59, 8vo. London, 1733. If Burnet had possessed only half as much common sense as he undoubtedly did learning, he would not have been surprised at the spiritual tendencies of the Jews, nor would he have sought for the cause of them in the soil or climate. When Moses placed the temporal rule over his people in the hands of the priesthood, he effectually provided for such a result.

phy, or indeed, of any other science, but comforts himself with observing that no people abounded so much in prophets and men imbued with the celestial spirit—a somewhat awkward testimony, since it supposes the union of the highest spiritual gifts with the profoundest ignorance. Burnet, however, had good authority for what he said. We find Apollonius Molo, as quoted by Josephus, roundly declaring that the Jews were the most foolish of all barbarians, and had contributed nothing whatever to the useful arts. And yet this is the race from whom the Freemasons got their pretended superiority of scientific knowledge, the claims to which they have after all been forced to abandon.*

But though I am quite satisfied of the forgery, it still serves to prove the feelings of the age in which it was fabricated, and distinctly shows what the Freemasons of the period wished the world to believe of their craft. In this respect it is highly valuable, for, being so purely and wholly Rosicrucian as to identify the two fraternities, the only question remaining is, which was the first? Now we have already shown the date of the Rosicrucians, so far as they can be called a fraternity, without any fixed place of meeting, and the Freemasons have never been able to produce any record of their lodges of so early a period by many years. Whatever meetings they speak of before that time, were, for ought they can show to the contrary, mere guilds. The inference is unavoidable. It may perhaps, be urged that the word, *freemason*, is of old date. No doubt of it. But the word *free* meant no more with the operative masons than it did with any other

* "Λέγει δὲ καὶ ἀφυεστάτους εἶναι τῶν βαρβάρων. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν εἰς τὸν βίον εὕρημα συμβεβλῆσθαι μόνους." F. Josephi *Contra Apionem*. Lib. ii. sect. 14. As a matter of course, Josephus, when quoting this testimony against the Jews, stoutly denies the truth of it.

guild—namely, that the apprentice had passed his time, and was now *free* of his craft.

Nothing could have been more artful on the part of the pseudo-philosophers than this mixing of themselves up with a body of men like the masons. Nobody could deny that builders had existed from very remote times, and hence, if the two could be blended to the eye of the world, their antiquity would be established. To effect this, they, or rather the Rosicrucians, from whom they took the idea, used Solomon's temple and the various implements of the builder, as the myth of their new order. Crafty as the plan might be, it was yet liable to some objections which have been already noticed—it derived a scheme of Christian morals from Jews and idolators, and preserved it for ages by the same means.

It will scarcely add to the force of what has just been stated, but the fact is that even the guilds, although much older than the lodges, are yet not antient in the common acceptation of the word. The first thing of the kind, so far as antiquarian industry has been able to trace it, was in the reign of Henry the Sixth, when a company of Italian masons was especially licensed by a papal bull, while in Germany the first guild is supposed to have arisen in 1452, out of the building of the celebrated cathedral at Strasburgh. They may have been earlier, but this is not very likely to have been the case. The union of men of any trade or occupation would hardly take place 'till the pursuits themselves had acquired some degree of public importance. The main question, however, is not at all affected by considerations of this kind. The utter impossibility of uniting the mythus with the craft itself is too evident to make this of the least importance; and, indeed, nothing but the eagerness for blending themselves with antiquity could have led them into the error of basing

themselves on an art, to which Christians have contributed so little. The five orders of architecture belong to the heathen Greeks; and the Gothic style, it is well known, has come to us from the Persians.*

What has been said will probably be considered by most readers quite sufficient to prove that the Freemasons are not anterior to the Rosicrucians; and their principles, so far as they were avowed about the middle of the seventeenth century, being identical, it is fair to presume that the Freemasons were in reality, the first incorporated body of Rosicrucians or Sapientes.

In the "*Fama* of Andrea," we have the first sketch of a constitution, which bound by oath the members to mutual secrecy, which proposed higher and lower grades, yet levelled all worldly distinctions in the common bonds of brotherhood, and which opened its privileges to all classes, making only purity of mind and purpose the condition of reception. The emblems of the two brotherhoods are the same in every respect—the plummet, the level, the compasses, the cross, the *rose*, and all the rest of the symbolic trumpery, which the Rosicrucians named in their writings as the insignia of their imaginary associations,† and which they also would have persuaded a credulous world concealed truths ineffable by mere language; both too derived their wisdom from Adam, adopted the same myth of building, connected themselves in the same unintelligible way with Solomon's temple, affected to be seeking *light from the East*,—in other words, the Cabala—and accepted the heathen Pythagoras amongst

* See a dissertation on the subject, by M. Lenormont, in M. De Caumont's "*Architecture Religeuse*," &c.

† Let me again remind the reader, that though there might be no actual *colleges*, or lodges of Rosicrucians, I have never denied the existence of a large body of men, who under that name professed the same alchemical and theosophic doctrines, and pretended to form a brotherhood.

their adepts. But though it sounded well enough for the Freemasons to confess an alliance with the Greek philosopher so long as science and the knowledge of nature were amongst their objects, such an admission became manifestly absurd when the advancing intelligence of man rejected the visionary portions of alchemy; to keep pace with their age, they were obliged to abandon the old philosophy, and confine themselves to morals and the understanding of the Creator.

Other and no less serious objections crowd upon us as we advance in the enquiry. The grand secret of the Freemasons, derived, as they pretend, from Solomon, if not from Adam, should make them wiser, or better, than their neighbours, or it is worth nothing. Has it done so? Experience replies that the fraternity, like any other association of human beings, contains both bad and good men,—the worst, no worse than may be found elsewhere, and the best no better. In regard to art or science, as a body, they have taught mankind nothing; and in regard to religion, they surely do not pretend to the knowledge of a purer faith than is in the scriptures, or to a more perfect interpretation of them than is given to us by our numerous and well-paid clergy. Here is a dilemma from which there is no escaping, even if they could get over the difficulty of their secret producing no effect upon themselves or others, and therefore being perfectly worthless.

And what does all their talk of emblems amount to? Emblems can express nothing that may not be told as well by words, since by words after all they must be explained, and what then is gained by their use? mystery,—nothing else,—inasmuch as they will bear any meaning you choose to attach to them, and their value as the representative of ideas must entirely depend upon the knowledge of the interpreter. Is a man likely to become

more moral for wearing a white apron and white gloves, or for carrying about a white wand? will any one learn prudence from seeing that quality represented by "a blazing star, which is placed in the centre that every mason's eye may be upon it?" * or will "the level, the emblem of equality,"† or "the plumb, the emblem of integrity," inspire a deeper love for these qualities than the eloquence of words. It is true we often avail ourselves of this principle in teaching children; but then it is done to assist their memory, or to convey abstract truths to the mind through the medium of the eye. Thus the image of the archer may help out a child's recollection of *A*, as that of a bull may with more readiness call to its mind the letter *B*; this in fact is no more than a *memoria technica*, an artificial memory; but do grown-up men require such help to teach them morality? Mr. Oliver assures us that "the mason in his full clothing is

* Oliver's Antiquities of Freemasonry, p. 177.

† In the case of Frederick the Greek I am sorry to say it produced no effect whatever, though to be sure he was an awkward subject to try the experiment upon. In 1753, while he was yet only crown-prince, he was *made* by an especial deputation of Freemasons from Hamburg for that purpose, the first of these towns, where he then resided, not being fortunate enough to possess a lodge of its own. But the levelling system of the brotherhood would seem to have been ill-suited to the taste of the royal lion; he could not tolerate an "imperium in imperio;" and when an upholsterer, who was occupied upon one of the palace-chambers, thought to recommend himself by giving the masonic sign of recognition, he turned his back upon the possessor of Solomon's wisdom and walked off. Another claim of the same kind was not more graciously received. During the Bavarian war of inheritance some Freemasons, who had a petition to address to him, were simple enough to accompany it with their masonic rank and titles. Their petition was immediately handed over to the authorities, and they were given to understand that they must not presume to use such titles out of their lodges for the future.—See Murr.

a striking emblem of integrity, and a perfect model of wisdom, strength, and beauty."* But is this walking emblem, wise, strong, and handsome, in reality, and are such wisdom, strength, and handsomeness, the result of his various amulets? if not, where is the use of all his badges? But the truth is that Freemasonry belongs not to our times. It was the fiction of a credulous age, when besides the vulgar religion, or popular mythology, the priests and philosophers had a secret system of their own, compelling the people under severe penalties to abide in ignorance while they kept all the light they could collect to themselves. It was not much to be sure, but what it was they retained and guarded with a barbarous and unrelenting jealousy. Such has been the case in all ages of which we have any record. The priests of Egypt had their hidden and undivulgable wisdom, an inner portion of their temple to which the multitude could never penetrate. The Jewish hierarchy had their Cabala, that knowledge, which, as they said, God had granted to them under a solemn command of secrecy, and denied to the rest of their fellow creatures. The Indian teachers, with Zoroaster at their head, had one code for the multitude, and another for the elect. The Greeks boasted of their Eleusinian mysteries. Even Pythagoras bound his followers to silence. But we repeat it, the day of mysticism has gone by; and though it is only the first dawn of real knowledge that is breaking upon us, yet even in this early twilight men for the most part can see too plainly to be the dupes of such absurd pretensions. The very attempt however to continue them is an effort to perpetuate ignorance and error, and upon this principle the sooner the Freemasons lay aside their aprons and talk like the rest of the world the better.

* Antiquities of Freemasonry, p. 175.

And now let me say a few words in justice to the despised and abused alchemists, whose relationship the Freemasons are so anxious to deny; they at least, amidst all their dreams and follies, had much practical knowledge, which is more than can be said of the Freemasons, simply considered as such, and were of service to mankind. If they did not find the philosopher's stone, they were not less the fathers of chemistry, and were much better informed in general than the world is willing to give them credit for. As one instance only, I will show from a writer of their own, that they had some notion, though perhaps not very precise or accurate, of the gaseous nature of water. In the ATALANTA FUGIENS, we read, "from coagulated (compressed) winds, which are nothing else but air, water is made, and from this, mingled with earth, proceed all minerals and metals."*—And with this I conclude, though the history of the alchemists would admit of much curious investigation.

* "Ex fumis autem, seu ventis, qui sunt nihil aliud quam aer motus, coagulatis fit aqua, ex qua cum terra mixta mineralia et metalla omnia."—ATALANTA FUGIENS. p. 14. Discursus I.—Qrto. Oppenheim, 1518.

THE MONTHS—JULY.

THIS month, which was the beginning of the Celtic year,* was called by our Saxon ancestors HENMONATH, i.e. *foliage month*, from the German *Hain*, a grove; HEYMONATH, i.e. *Haymonth*; and LIDA AFTERA, i.e. the *Second Lida*, or second month of the sun's descent, as June was named the LIDA ERRA, i.e. the first month of the sun's descent.† In proof of the correctness of the names thus given, Dr. Sayers refers us to an emblematical representation of the Saxon months on an ancient font belonging to the church of Burnham Depedale in Norfolk. GIULI AFTERA, i.e. *January*, is represented by a man drinking from a horn; SOLMONATH, i.e. *February*, by a person apparently sitting at the door of his house; LENCTMONATH, i.e. *March*, by a man digging; EOSTERMONATH, i.e. *April*, by a man employed in pruning; SERMONATH, i.e. *May*, (apparently) by a person occupied in trimming a vine; WEEDMONATH, i.e. *June*, by a weeder;

* See Davies' *Celtic Researches*, p. 190.

† For some of these names and derivations I am indebted to Dr. Frank Sayers in his DISQUISITIONS, p. 255, 8vo. Norwich, 1808. The venerable Bede *(De Ratione Temporum)* calls this month *Lida* only, and Verstegan confines himself to the name of HEYMONATH, which he says was given to it, "because therein they usually mowed, and made their hay-harvest."—*Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, p. 67.

HEYMONATH, i.e. *July*, by a mower; ARNMONATH, i. e. *August*, by a reaper; GERSTMONATH, i. e. *September*, by a thresher; WYNMONATH, i. e. *October*, (apparently) by a person pouring wine from a bottle into a cup or funnel; BLOTMONATH, i. e. *November*, by a man killing a hog; and GIUL ERRA, i.e. *December*, by a company feasting.*

The name of July is from the Latin Julius, an appellation given to the month by Mark Antony in honour of Julius Cæsar,† who was born in it; before his time it had been called *Quintilis*,‡ or *Fifth*, because it was the fifth month, dating the commencement of the year from March.

The Flora of this month is peculiarly abundant; the solstitial plants, many of which began to open early in June, are all in full perfection, and some even commence declining by about the ninth. At that time the æstival plants begin to flower, though it should be remembered that many of them blossomed at an earlier period, and indeed it is utterly impossible to draw a fixed and determinate line for the season of any vegetable productions. At the very commencement of the month, the *Agrimony* and the *Bindweeds* begin to flower, are abundant about the middle of it, and continue flowering till September; the *Evening Primrose* opens its yellow flowers towards sunset, blowing through the rest of the summer; while the *Cockle* flowers amongst the corn, wheat and barley in particular; the *Pink Garden Hawksweed* also flowers about Old Midsummer Day (July 5th), as also the *Garden Hawksaye*, whose bright

* Disquisitions, p. 257.

† "Sequitur Julius, qui cum, secundum Romuli ordinationem Martio anni renente principium, *Quintilis* a numero vocaretur; nihilominus tamen etiam post præpositos a Numa Januarium ac Februarium, retinuit nomen cum non videretur jam quintus esse sed septimus." *Macrobii Saturnal*, Lib. i. Cap. xii. p. 261. 8vo. Biponti, 1788.

‡ Denique quintus ab hoc fuerat Quintilis; et inde
Incipit, a numero nomina quisquis habet."
P. Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum, Lib. iii. v. 149.

yellow flowerets, surrounding a dark disk, show the origin of its name; so too the *Nasturtium*, or *Indian Cress*, its orange-coloured flowers continuing to ornament the gardens during the whole of August; the *White Lily*, the *Scarlet Martagon*, and the *Marsh Thistle*, blow much about the same time; the *Bearded Cats-Tail Grass*, the *Club Rush*, the *Bulbous Fox-Tail Grass*, the *Reflexed and Creeping Meadow Grass*, the *Field Eryngo*, *Parsley Water Dropwort*, *Smooth Seaheath*, and the *Golden Dock*, all of them maritime plants, may be seen flowering in the salt marshes; on sandy shores will be found the *Sea Matweed*, *Upright Sealime Grass*, the *Sea Longwort*, the *Sea Bindweed*, *Saltwort*, *Sea Holly*; on maritime rocks, *Prickly Samphire*, and *Sea Lavender*; and on rocky shores the *Sea-pea*.* As the

* The *solstitial* plants, which begin to open early in June, gradually give way about the time of St. Swithin, to the *æstival* plants. The following, which is taken from Forster, is a tolerably comprehensive catalogue of the former:

Dutch or Garden Rose.
The Provence Rose.
Damask Rose, producing red and white flowers on the same tree.
Moss Rose.
Musk Rose.
Red Officinal Rose.
White Rose.
Canterbury Bells.
Sweet Williams.
Common Pink.
Monkey Flower.
Scarlet Lychnis.
Orange Lily.
Pompoon Lily.
Purple Martagon Lily.
Scarlet Martagon, or Turkscap Lily.
Garden Poppy.
White Poppy.

Among wild plants may be enumerated:

Yellow Cistus.

month advances and roses are beginning to fade, we have the *Convolvulus Purpureus* (the *Larger Garden Bindweed*) with its funnel shaped flowers either white, or of deep azure and gold; and the *Convolvulus Tricolor (Lesser Garden Bindweed)* mingles with it its three-coloured flowers of light blue, white, and yellow, in company with the *Nasturtium*, the *Sweet William*, and the *Scarlet Lychnis;* while next in our calendar come many of the poisonous plants, the *Deadly Night Shade, Hemlock*, and *Henbane.*

In regard to the FAUNA, this month, like August, has been called the *Mute Month*, because in both of them the birds are silent. The cuckoo has gone, the song of the nightingale has ceased, and swallows, from the succession of the young broods, are seen upon the wing in numbers. River-fishing is now in perfection. Towards the middle of the month, the willow wrens, of which we have three sorts, begin to be numerous. The *Wood-wren*, with his yellow and olive green plumage is the largest, and is seen much amongst oaks and other great trees; the *Willow-wren*, properly so called, is the next in size, and generally resorts to willow and osier grounds; the third sort, called *Pettychaps*, inhabits large trees, particularly the pine and fir, but the best time to watch their habits is in the rainy weather that oftens follows St. Swithin's day, when

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Longbearded Prickly Poppy.
Corn Poppy.
Doubtful Poppy.
Mongrel Poppy.
Yellow Horned Poppy.
Blue Cornflower.
Cockle.
Foxglove.
Yellow Fleur de Lis; and others of this kind in gardens.
Yellow Centaurea.

they may be seen flitting and running about the boughs of trees and shrubs in pursuit of insects. About this time too (July 19) the young frogs leave their ponds for the tall grass; *Swallows* and *Martins* congregate for a long time previous to their departure, resting in flocks on the roofs of buildings, and the former sometimes alighting on trees; *Partridges* are found among the corn; *Poultry* moult; the *Hoary Beetle* appears; *Bees* begin to expel and kill their drones; and the flying *Ants* quit their nests. Towards the end of the month *Salmon* fishing is in season; *Mackarel* still continue to be taken off our coast, and in the West of England the *Pilchard* fishery commences, and continues through August. Turning from this subject to POMONA, we find *Strawberries* of all sorts plentiful, *Gooseberries, Cherries, Currants, Early Apricots,* and *Peaches,* though the last as yet are not very plentiful.

There are few days of importance in this month either in regard to astronomy or to ancient observances. The first, however, to be noticed are the DOG-DAYS. These are now made to commence with the 3rd of the month and end with the 11th of August, a very proper change, though only dating from the correction of the British calendar, which brings it in harmony with the ancient idea of the Dog-Days,—that is to say, a certain number of days preceding and ensuing the heliacal rising of Canicula or Sirius, i.e. the Dog-star.* It must be obvious that the rising of the star must in the first place vary with the latitude; and secondly, that the precession of equinoxes

* In an old calendar given by Bede, (De Temporum Ratione) the commencement of the Dog-days is placed on the 14th of July; and in one prefixed to the common prayer printed in the time of Elizabeth, they are made to begin on the 6th of July, and to end on the 5th of September; this last continued till the restoration, when the *Dog-days* were omitted. For a long period subsequent they were said to begin on the 19th of July, and end on the 28th of August.

would in the course of centuries make so great a change in the seasons that the Dog-Days, if restricted to their original place in the calendar, would by this time bring with them frost and snow instead of intense heat.

It is to Egypt that the various notions, connected with these days, are most probably to be attributed. As the star had its heliacal rising much about the time of the summer solstice, when the Nile also began to rise, the ancient Egyptians imagined that it in someway influenced the overflow of the waters and the consequent fertility of the soil. With them therefore it was worshipped as something holy, and often under the names of Isis and Thoth, the usual appellations of their great goddess and of Mercury, while, among other strange dogmas, they believed there was a wild beast called Oryx,* whose wont it was to stand full against the star, watching it, and seeming to worship it by sneezing. But with other nations it was held in very different estimation. The time of its heliacal rising to them brought no particular benefit, but on the contrary was a season of intense heat, and consequently of disease, and hence arose many popular superstitions, both ancient and modern. According to the Roman faith, at the rising of Sirius, the seas boil, the wines ferment in the cellars, and standing waters are set in motion; the dogs also beyond all question go very mad indeed,† and the silurus, or sturgeon is blasted.‡ In more modern times the belief that the intense heat proceeded from Sirius, must have been deeply rooted, when we find Gassendi gravely arguing that as the Dog-

* "Orygem appellat Ægyptus feram, quam in exortu ejus contra stare et contueri tradit, ac velut adorare cum sternuerit." *C. Plinii, Nat. Hist.* Lib. ii., cap. 41.

† "Fervent maria, exoriente eo, fluctuant in cellis vina, moventur stagna.... Canes quidem toto eo spatio maxime in rabiem agi non est dubium." *Id.*

‡ "Silurus caniculæ exortu sideratur, et alioqui totum mare senti exortum ejus sideris." *Id.* Lib. ix., cap. 25.

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Star, which was the symbol of heat to us, was the symbol of cold to our antipodes, so it must necessarily follow that heat came from the sun and not from the star.*

St. Swithin's Day, July 15.—This day has retained its place in our calendar, or at least in the popular memory, from a notion that if it rains now, it will continue to rain for forty days afterwards. The vulgar notion, however, is not quite so absurd as it may at first sight appear to be, for as this happens to be in general a wet season of the year with us—the time indeed of the solstitial rains,—it may be pretty fairly inferred that, if rain once begins, it will continue, not exactly perhaps at the same place, but with some little latitude as to locality. This belief is said to have originated in one of the old Roman Catholic fables respecting Saint Swithin, Bishop of Winchester. Before his death, which took place in 868, he had desired "that he might be buried in the open churchyard, and not in the chancel of the minster, as was usual with other bishops, and his request was complied with; but the monks, on his being canonized, considering it disgraceful for the saint to lie in a public cemetery, resolved to remove his body into the choir, which was to have been done with solemn procession on the 15th of July; it rained, however, so violently for forty days together at this season, that the design was abandoned."†

* "Alterum est, hujusmodi signa non esse omnibus regionibus eadem; sed *Canem*, qui caloris signum nobis est, esse antipodibus signum frigoris; argumento sanè, quòd æstus, aut frigus, a *Cane* non sit, sed ab uno sole, nobis per præsentiam, illis per absentiam; alioquin enim *Canis* cum situm non mutet, quemadmodum sol, deberet uniformem effectum sortiri." Gassendi in Laertium Animadversiones, p. 918, tom. ii. *De Præsignificationibus Siderum*—folio, Lugduni, 1649.

† *Forster's Perennial Calendar*, p. 344—*July*.

St. Swithin—in the Saxon, Swithum—was of noble birth, and received his tonsure on assuming the clerical habit in the old monastery of Winchester. He was a great favourite with the priesthood; and no wonder, since, "by his counsel and advice King Ethelwolf in a Mycel synod, or great council of the nation in 854, enacted a new law, by which he gave the tythes, or tenth part of his land throughout the kingdom, to the Church, exempt and free from all taxations and burthens with an obligation of prayers in all churches for ever, for his own soul on every Wednesday. This charter, to give it a more sacred sanction, he offered on the altar at St. Peter at Rome in the pilgrimage which he made to that city in 855. He likewise procured it to be confirmed by the Pope."*

It was the singular good fortune of Saint Swithin to be equally a favourite with two monarchs, father and son; for Egbert, as the Golden Legend tells us, "made him his chaunceler, and chyef of hys coũseyll, and sette Ethulf, his sone and heier under his rule and guiding."† He was also a great miracle-worker, as appears from the same unimpeachable authority, and one instance of the Saint's handywork is too amusing to be passed over unnoticed. It seems that "he dyd do make wythout the weste gate of the town a fayr brydge of stone at hys proper cost. And on a tyme there came a woman over the brydge wyth her lappe full of eggs; and a rechelles felow stroglyd and werstelyd wyth her, and brake all her egges. And it happed that this holy bysshop came that waye the same time and bad the woman lete him see her egges. And anone he lyfte his honde and blessyd the egges, and they were made hool and sounde everychon by the merytes

* *Alban Butler's Lives of the Saints*, vol. vii. p. 204, 8vo. Dublin, 1780.

† *Golden Legend*, fol. 173. Folio, 1512—Caxton.

of this holy bysshop."* But admirable as this miracle unquestionably is, it is perhaps even surpassed by the following. "Thise two bysshops, Dunston and Ethelwold, were warned by our Lorde to see that thyse ij holy saintes, Swythyne and Edward, sholde be worshypfully shryned; and so they were wythin a short tyme after; and an holy man warned Ethewold, whyles he lay seke to helpe that thyse two holy bodyes myght be shryned; and thene he sholde parfyghtly hool and so endure to hys lyves' ende; and the token is, that ye shall fynde on Saynt Swythynes grave two rynges of yron nayled fast thereon; and as sone as he sette honde on the ringes, thei come of of the stone, and no token was seen in the stone where they were fastened in. And whan they had taken up the stone fro the grave, they sette the rynges to the stone agayn, and anone they fastened to it by themself. And thene this holy bysshop gof lowd† and praysing to our lord for this miracle."‡

JULY THE 27TH.—This day is celebrated in the Romish calendar as being dedicated to the *Seven Sleepers*, a popular story even in our own time, but which like most tales of the kind has not always been told with uniform consistency. According to one version there is somewhere in Norway upon the sea-shore a cave, in which seven men have slept for an unknown length of time, their garments and bodies being alike untouched by decay. From the appearance of the former it is evident they are Romans, and it seems to be rather unsafe to meddle with them, for when a curious visitor attempted to strip one

* *Golden Legend*, fol. 173. Folio, 1572—Caxton.

† i.e. gave laud, or thanksgivings.

‡ *Golden Legend*, fol. 173. Folio, 1572.—Caxton. From all this it is plain that St. Swithin must have been a highly popular character in his day, and yet he is not included in Ribadeneira's list of the saintly host.

of them, his arms instantly withered up, as a warning to others who might be troubled with the same fancy.*

Olaüs Magnus tells the same story;† Possevinus confounds these Northern sleepers with those of Ephesus;‡ and Gregory of Tours has a version altogether different.§

* "In extremis circium versus Germaniæ finibus, in ipso oceani littore, antrum sub eminenti rupe conspicitur, ubi septem viri (incertum ex quo tempore) longo sopiti sopore quiescunt, ita inlæsis non solum corporibus, sed etiam vestimentis, ut ex hoc ipso quod sine ullo per tot annorum curricula corruptione perdurant, apud indociles easdem et barbaras nationes venerationi habeantur. Hi denique, quantum ad habitum spectat, Romani esse cernuntur. E quibus dum unum quidam, cupiditate stimulatus, vellet exuere, mox ejus, ut dicitur, brachia aruerunt, pænaque sua cæteros proterruit ne quis eos ulterius contingere auderet." *P. Warnefridus De Gestis Langobordum*, Lib. i. cap. 10.—The geography of this passage is exceedingly vague, not to say contradictory. A cave somewhere on the seashore, toward the North, is far from being a plain direction; and besides, *circius* can only mean the North-West, while in the *Acta Sanctorum*, the commentators on this passage tell us that by Germania we are to understand Norway, p. 375, tom. vi.—*July.*

† Olai Magni Historia.—De Ritu Gent. Septen. cap. iii. lib. 1. But indeed he only quotes from Warnefrid.

‡ Possevinus *Gonzaga*. Lib. i. p. 4, Folio, Mantuæ, 1628.

§ I may here observe that this is one only of three accounts, given, or said to be given, by Gregory of Tours in regard to the *Seven Sleepers*. It is not to be found, as far as I know, in any edition of the bishop's works, but occurs in the Acta Sanctorum (p. 389, tom. vi.—*July.*) where it is stated to be taken from a MS. in the church of St. Audomar. No doubt they are all equally authentic; and therefore, relying upon the learned editors of the Acta, I have chosen that which seemed to me the most interesting, but abridging it considerably, and being more careful to retain the peculiar quaint character of the original than to give any thing like a close translation. The second of the tales alluded to (*S. Gregorii Episc. Turon.* De Gloria Martyrum, Lib. 1, cap. 95, p. 826,) agrees with this in substance, though not altogether in detail, and it is much more brief. The third, as the reader will perceive from the following analysis, seems to be only another version of the Northern Sleepers, and I should observe that it is somewhat doubtful whether it was really written by the Bishop, for, having

This it is: At a time when the persecution of the Christians was general throughout the world, there were seven men in the royal palace of noble birth, by name Achillidis, Diomedis, Diogenis, Probatus, Stephanus, Sambucius, and Quiriacus. Beholding the horrid crimes of the Emperor, and that deaf and dumb idols were worshipped in place of the Eternal, they were divinely impelled to fly to the grace of baptism, when they received at the regenerating font the name of Maximianus, Malchus, Martinianus, Constantinus, Dionysius, Joannes, Serapion. Now Decius, coming to the city of Ephesus, ordered strict enquiry to be made after the Christians, that the very name of their religion might, if possible, be extinguished. The altars were prepared, and threats and persuasions alike used to in-

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given one version of the legend in his MARTYROLOGY, he would hardly have sent forth another to the world in this letter to Sulpicius Bituvicensis, without some allusion to what he had already published. The story, however, is briefly this. There were seven brothers, by name Clemens, Primus, Lactus, Theodorus, Gaudens, Quiriacus, and Innocentius, cousins of Martin of Tours, who were received by him in the convent of Marmoutier (Majus-Monasterium) a Benedictine abbey, on the banks of the river Loire, nearly opposite to Tours. Here they led so holy a life, that Martin was frequently in the habit after his own decease of visiting them in dreams to comfort them, and eventually he was so kind as to come in the middle of the night and warn them of their approaching death, saying, "To-morrow you will die; so call the abbot Ricardus to you, relate your life, confess your sins, and tell him to say a mass in honour of the Holy Trinity, not forgetting to commemorate myself. This being done and having received the viaticum, you will go the way of all flesh, but without pain, and your bodies will remain free from corruption."—Even as the Saint had said, so it happened, and the place was immediately filled with so sweet an odour for seven days together, that all the sick who came thither were healed whatever might be their malady. At the end of that time we may infer, though it is not set down, that the sweetness had ceased, for the abbot then caused them to be buried in their clothes.

duce the people to offer up sacrifices, till the whole city reeked and glowed with the splendour of these horrid ceremonies; which being perceived by these champions of Christ, they prostrated themselves in prayer, scattered dust upon their heads, and prayed to God that he would look down from his sanctuary on high, and not permit his people to be perverted.

When this was perceived by the persecutors of the Christian name, they came to the Emperor, saying, "O Prince, thy commands have been spread to the extremest boundaries of the earth, and none have dared to disobey them; but all offer daily sacrifice to the immortal Gods, seven men alone excepted, whom you have loved and held in favour."—And the Emperor said, "who are they?"—And they replied, "Maximianus, the son of your prefect, with his companions." Hereat the Emperor waxed wrath, and they were led before him in chains, having their faces bathed in tears, and their heads covered with ashes, just as they had been deprecating the Lord. And the Emperor said, "Are you of such wicked minds that you oppose our deities, and refuse the sacrifices due to the immortal Gods? By my glory I say to you you shall suffer many kinds of torture for this contempt." Then the men made answer and said, "the Lord is the creator of heaven and earth, to whom we daily offer the fitting sacrifice of praise, and for whose name we are prepared to die." And the wrathful Emperor, being left alone with them, said, "Away, ye slaves from our presence, 'till ye have repented of your blasphemy, and, being reconciled to the mercy of the Gods, enjoy the flower of your youth, for it is not fitting that so much perfection of form should be subjected to torture."—And, the collar being struck from off their necks, he commanded that they should go free until his return from Ephesus. The men having thus received permission to depart, and the Emperor

going to another city, they went home, collected their gold, silver, apparel, and household goods, and distributed them to the poor. Then they sought a cavern on Mount Celeus,* carrying with them only a small supply of money to buy food, and chose Malchus of their number to make the necessary purchases, and learn what the Emperor might daily decree in regard to the Christians.

While the saints were thus enclosed in the cavern, the Emperor returned to Ephesus, and, examining the Christians as usual, he demanded intelligence of Maximian and his companions; to this their relations replied that they had betaken themselves to a certain cavern of Mount Celeus, from which they might be easily dragged if the Emperor commanded it. Now when the saints knew all this from Malchus, they were greatly troubled, and flinging themselves on the earth, they with tears entreated the Lord that he would hide them from the sight of the wicked Emperor. And God, foreseeing that they would be hereafter necessary, gave ear to their prayer, and received their souls, and they lay upon the ground, as if buried in a sweet sleep.

The Emperor, being much wroth at what he had heard, said to his people, "go ye then, and pile up the mouth of the cave with stones, that these rebels to the Gods may have no means of departing forth. Hereupon the servants of the Emperor went out to block up the cave, but two men, called Theodore and Ruben, had got the start of them, and these men worshipped Christ in secret, for they feared the imperial anger. Writing the whole history of the saints upon leaden tablets, they privately deposited

* Eutychus calls this mountain, *Chaos*, and describes it as lying to the east of Ephesus—"Ad montem magnum, *Chaos* appellatum, ad partem Ephesi orientalem, profecti, in specu quodam magno, qui in ipso fuit, se abdiderunt."—*Contextio Gemmarum, sive Eutychii Patriarchæ Alexandrini Annales*, tom. i. p. 391. 4to. Oxoniæ. 1656.

them within the cave, unknown to any one, saying, "When God shall choose to reveal unto the people the blessed remains of his champions, these tablets may show what they have suffered for his name." Then came those who had been sent forth, and rolling forward huge stones they blocked up the mouth of the cavern, and said, "let those perish of hunger, and eat of their own flesh, who have refused to sacrifice to our Gods."*

Decius died, years rolled on, and the sceptre had now passed into the hands of Theodosius, the son of Arcadius, in whose time arose the filthy sect of the Sadducees, who wished to overthrow the hope of a resurrection, saying, "verily, the dead do not arise." The heads of this heresy were the bishops Theodorus and Gaius, and they endeavoured to pervert the Emperor, who being greatly afflicted thereat, prostrated himself before the Lord, and prayed that God would tell him what he ought to believe. Now there was at this time at Ephesus a certain Dalius, very rich in cattle, who, going about Mount Celeus, commanded his herdsmen, saying, "prepare ye in this spot sheep-cotes for our sheep, for the place is apt for pasture." And the herdsmen collected stones to build a wall, till they came to the mouth of the cavern, but they did not enter in.

But the Lord commanded the spirits of the saints to

* This has been the text of every priesthood in every age, and of the people, who have been led by them—"perish those who do not think as we do." Thus the Catholics tortured to death both Jews and Protestants; thus Calvin, in a smaller way, burnt such of his friends as presumed to deviate a hair's breadth from the narrow road he had chosen; and so too our Puritans were by no means negligent in doing what they were pleased to call "the work of the Lord"—that is to say, they unscrupulously cut the throats of all they could lay hands upon, who did not hold with them that pleasure was a crime and that prayers were religion.

return into their bodies, when they arose and saluted each other as usual, supposing they had only slept a single night; and not only were their bodies as fair as ever, but their garments were as fresh as when they had put them on many years before. Turning to Malchus, they said, "Tell us, we pray thee, brother, that we may know, what did the Emperor say last night, and is there any search for us?"—To whom he said,—"you are required to sacrifice to the Gods."—And Maximianus replied, "we are all prepared to die for Christ. But do you take silver, and go and buy food, and listen attentively, and that which you shall hear relate unto us." Hereupon he took the money and departed, and the coin had on it the name of Decius. On approaching the city-gate, he saw upon it the sign of the cross, whereat he was much amazed, saying to himself,—"Is it possible that yesterday, after sunset, when I had left the city, the Lord changed the heart of Decius, that he should arm the city-gate with the sign of the cross."—Yet greater was his surprize when on entering within the walls he heard men swearing by the name of Christ, and saw priests walking about the streets, and he again spoke to himself in wonder, saying, "have you not wandered into some other city?"—And he went to the market, and showed his silver, and demanded food. But they beholding the coin, said, "This man must have found a treasure, for lo! he produces silver of the time of Decius." And Malchus, when he heard this, began to meditate within himself, and said, "what do these things mean? am I in a dream?" Then the men, laying hands upon him brought him before the Bishop Marinus and the Prefect of the city, and the Prefect said, "who are you? or from what country have you come?" To whom he replied, "From Ephesus; if indeed this be the city of the Ephesians, which I remember to have seen yesterday."—To whom again the Prefect—"where did

you get this silver?"—And he replied, "I took it from the house of my father." Then said the Prefect, "Who is thy father?"—Hereupon he named his kindred, but no one knew them. And again the Prefect spoke and said—"Relate unto us where you got this silver, for it is of the time of Decius, who has been dead these many years? hence it is manifest you have come to delude the wise Ephesians, and therefore you shall be subjected to torture till you reveal the truth." And Malchus, being troubled, replied in tears and wonder, "I ask only one token of you, if you deem me worthy of it—where is Decius, the Emperor, who persecuted the Christians in this city?"—Then the Bishop said, "my dear son, there is no one within these walls who recollects the time of Decius, for he has been dead these many years."

When Malchus heard these things, he turned to them and said, "I thought that I and my brothers had slept only a single night; but, as I now perceive, many, many years have passed over our slumber. And now the Lord has raised me and my brothers that every age may know the resurrection of the dead. Follow me therefore, and I will show you my brothers, who have arisen with me." Then the Bishop, and the Prefect, and the people, all amazed, followed Malchus till they came to the cavern, when he related to his brothers what had happened in the city. Now the Bishop entering found the casket sealed with two silver seals; hereupon he went forth and convoking the multitude, he with the Prefect broke the seals, and found two leaden tablets, on which was written all the passion of the brothers, as we have narrated it, and they knew that those things were true which had been told unto them by Malchus.

Upon entering the cavern they found the blessed Martyrs seated in a corner thereof, and their faces were as the rose in bloom, and resplendent as the sun in its strength,

for nothing had faded either of their garments or of their bodies. And Marinus, the Bishop, with the Prefect, fell at their feet and worshipped them, and all the people glorified God, who had vouchsafed to show such a miracle to his servants, and the Saints related what had befallen them in the time of Decius. Then the former despatched messengers to Theodosius, the Emperor, saying, "hasten with what speed you may, if you wish to behold a great miracle, which by the will of God has been made manifest to our times. For if you come, you will see how greatly useful is the hope of a resurrection, according to the word of promise by the Evangelist."

Now when Theodosius, the Emperor, heard these tidings, he arose with much joy, and, extending his hand to Heaven, said, "I thank thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, thou sun of justice, for that thou hast vouchsafed to sprinkle the darkness of us mortals with the light of thy truth; I thank thee that thou hast not permitted the lamp of my confession to be obscured by the foul shades of heresy." Thus saying he mounted his horse and hastened to Ephesus, when he was met by the Bishop with the Prefect and a multitude of the citizens. And as they ascended the Mount, the Martyrs came forth, and Augustus fell upon the earth, and adored them, glorifying God. Then arising, he kissed them, and wept upon the neck of each, saying, "I look on your faces, as if I beheld our Lord Jesus Christ, when he called Lazarus from the grave, and greatly do I thank him that he has not deprived me of the hope of the resurrection."—To whom Maximianus, "Know, O Emperor, that the Lord has bidden us to arise in order to confirm your belief. Therefore be of constant faith in the resurrection of the dead, since you have found us arising after death, and relating to you the wonders of God."

When they had spoken this and many other things,

they again fell asleep on the earth, rendering up their spirits to the Almighty. And now the Emperor fell upon their bodies, and with tears kissed them, and taking off his garments covered them, and ordered golden chests to be made that they might be preserved therein. But in the night the Saints appeared to him, saying, "Do not so, but leave us upon the earth, from which the Lord will raise us all in the great day of resurrection." Then the Emperor built over them a large church, and made there a receptacle for the poor, commanding that they should be maintained at the public expense, when the bishops being convoked they celebrated the feast of the Saints, and all glorified God, to whom in the Trinity are perfect honour and glory now and for evermore.

One would suppose that a fable of this kind could hardly be made the subject of serious discussion. Yet so it is. Baronius, a man of infinite learning, gravely argues against the truth of the latter part of the legend—not, as it would seem, that he finds any thing in such an event contrary to reason, but because the heresy, as it was called, that denied the corporeal resurrection, did not show itself till after the time of Theodosius, the younger. He insists upon it that the word, *sleep*, is not to be taken in its common acceptation, but is to be received in its scriptural sense of *sleeping in the Lord*, that is to say, of *dying after a life of piety*.* This no doubt strips the legend of the marvellous, but what then remains? the mere fact that seven men were persecuted and died, an event not very

* "Sententiæ illorum, qui putant hos non ob mortem dictos esse dormientes, sed quòd verè eo temporis spatio somno fuerint oppressi, maguoperè refragatur quod ipsi aiunt id miraculū divinitùs factum ob eam causam, quòd eo tempore de resurrectione carnis hæresis esset orta; cùm re vera nihil tale temporibus Theodosii Junioris contigisse reperiatur." — MARTYROLOGIUM ROMANUM. Auctore C. Baronio Sorano—Julii 27 : p. 470.

likely to be chronicled by the spirit of tradition. The truth, as I imagine, is simply this. In the early ages of Christianity the corporeal resurrection was an admitted article of faith, but in process of time a schism on this subject arose in the church itself; bishops even were found who maintained that we should rise again, not in the body, but in the spirit, and to oppose this heresy the more orthodox invented the legend of the Seven Sleepers; or, I should rather say, adopted a common fable and moulded it to their purposes, for it is one of those that belongs to all ages and all countries. Thus Pliny tells us of Epimenides, the Cretan, that when a boy, being weary one day from heat and travel, he laid himself down in a cave and slept for fifty-seven years. Waking—the next morning, as he imagined—he was of course, like the *Sleepers of Ephesus*, and the more modern Emperor Barbarossa, greatly surprised at the changes that had taken place.* We have the same story, though with some slight variations, in the life of Epimenides by Diogenes Laertius. The tale of the latter author is briefly as follows: Being one day sent out by his father to tend a sheep, the boy strayed into a cavern, where he fell asleep and slumbered for fifty-seven years. On awaking he sought his sheep, but was astonished to find the whole face of the country altered, upon which he made the best of his way home, where he was scarcely recognized by his youngest brother, who had now become an old man. In consequence his fame was spread throughout all Greece, and hence, as we learn from many authorities, came the phrase "to sleep the slumber of Epimenides."†

* *C. Plinii Sec. Nat. Hist.* Lib. vii. cap. 53. (52) p. 107. 8vo. Bipont.

† "Dormire somnum Epimenidis." This story is to be found in Diogenes Laertius *De Vitis Claror. Philosoph.* Lib. i. cap. 10, sect. ii. p. 116. 8vo. Curiæ Regnitianæ. 1639.

To us in the present day it may seem strange to quote a miracle in proof of any doctrine; seeing that there is nothing stands so much in need of proof as a miracle itself. But such was not the notion of the darker ages; the use of reason was denied to the mass as a crime; and belief, that asked nothing, doubted nothing, was a virtue. In every case of difficulty some pious person would be favoured with a vision, or some miracle would be said to have been wrought, and either was accepted as conclusive. What still farther tends to disprove the dictum of Baronius is the fact of the legend having been repeated by a multitude of Mahommedan writers, and Mahomet has even inserted it in the Koran.*

* "SEPTEM DORMIENTIUM historia Dionysii quoque tempori assignatur, quam non modo Arabes Christiani, sed Muhamedani, credunt et miris coloribus exornant. Eam absque ullo insigni discrimine circumstantiarum referunt Eutychius, Elmacinus, Abulfaragius, Makrizius, Chronicon. Omnes tandem eos sub Decio passos asserunt, etiam Muhamedani, atque inter eos Autor COMPENDII PERSICÆ HISTORIÆ UNIVERSALIS, cui titulus MOGEMAL TOŪARICH; ut alii multi, atque et præter alios celeberrimus Emir-Condus, et ejus epitomator Cond-Emirus. Nec mirum cum ipse Muhamed impostor eam historiam, qualis in ore vulgi circumferebatur, Alcorano inseruerit."—HISTORIA PATRIARCHARUM ALEXANDRIN. p. 38.—*Dionysius Patriarcha*, Parisiis, 1713, 4to. The writer's name does not appear in the title-page, but from the dedication to Cosmo III., Grand Duke of Tuscany, we find that Eusebius Renaudot is the author.

CUSTOMS AT HARTLEPOOL.* *(Durham.)*

"The first time a child visits a neighbour or relation, it is regularly presented with three things, salt, bread, and an egg; this practice however (not noticed by Bourne or Brand) is widely extended over the north of England. Valentine's Day is duly observed; the swains vent not their passions on sheets speckled with tinsel, and interlarded with Cupids, yet their epistles abound with the usual inflated hyperbole, which would not disgrace modern gallantry, and their Dulcineas are seldom deficient in comprehension. The solemnities practiced every where on Carling, Palm, and Easter Sundays, of which a full account is given in *Brand's Popular Antiquities*, are here most scrupulously observed.

A custom prevails on the Monday immediately following the latter festival for the men to take off the women's shoes or buckles, and on the Tuesday for the women to retaliate in like manner; these petty thefts are only to be redeemed by presents.† The trifling sums obtained by

* *Cuthbert Sharp's History of Hartlepool*, 8vo. Durham, 1816.

† I have already made mention of this custom, but repeat it rather than interrupt the current of our author's narrative.

this mutual and frequently provoked warfare, are generally expended in a merry-making towards the end of the week. *Mell-suppers* are customary in the neighbourhood at harvest-home; and *Guisers*, though their numbers are considerably diminished of late years, are still to be seen. On the approach of Christmas, *carols* are sung by the children; *yule-clogs* blaze on the eve of the nativity; and *yule-cakes* form an essential part of the evening's entertainment. The *Christmas Box* and *New Year's Gifts* are not forgotten; and detachments of *sword-dancers* perambulate the neighbourhood, exhibiting their feats of harmless warfare. The first Monday after Twelfth Day the *Stot-Plough*, a small anchor drawn by young men and boys, is paraded through the town. They stop at every door and beg a small donation; if successful, they salute the donor with three cheers; but if their request is refused, they plough up the front of the house, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants.

*Waffs** are still common, and few people die before their neighbours have seen their *waffs* glide softly by. Indeed some persons have seen their own waffs, and under the conviction that their own death was thereby predicted, have seldom recovered from the impression of the apparition.

A belief in *Bad Prayers* is still prevalent, and various arts practiced to render those prayers abortive.

* Or *whiffs*, as it is called in some parts of the country. Sharp says nothing about its meaning, but it is probably derived from *Weffe*, which, in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, by *Richard Frauncis*, is explained to mean a vapour. This last word would seem to belong to Norfolk, for the author of the *Promptorium*, who was a Black Friar, tells us in the prœmium of his work, that he follows the Norfolk dialect, to which he had been used from his infancy. Thus much we learn from his prologue to the work in question—"Comitatus tamen Norfolchie modum loquendi solum sum secutus, quem solum ab infancia didici, et solotenus plenius perfectiusque cognovi."

The *lake-wake*, or watching with a corpse, is not entirely laid aside, though somewhat fallen into disuse. Funerals are attended, not only by the intimate friends and relations of the deceased, but by all those who wish to pay a melancholy tribute of respect to the memory of the deceased. The funeral procession is opened by singers chaunting appropriate psalms, followed by two young girls, dressed in white, whose business it is to attend to the wants and wishes of the mournful attendants, and are called *servers*.

Until of late years, when a young unmarried female was buried, a garland was carried before the corpse, and afterwards suspended in the church; at present only one remains there, formed of white paper cut in various shapes, apparently to resemble flowers; and in the centre is represented the figure of a human hand, on which is (are) written the name and age of the deceased."

THE MONTHS—AUGUST.

This month derives its name from the Romans, who so call it in honour of Augustus Cæsar, because he had then first entered upon his consulship, brought three triumphs into the city, subdued Egypt to the Roman dominion, and put an end to the civil war. Prior to that time it had been known as *Sextilis*, as being the sixth month from March which, I have already observed, was the beginning of the Roman year.*

With the Anglo-Saxons it had the name of Arnmonath, —*Arn* signifying, *harvest;* Barn-monath; Harvest-monath; and, according to Bede,† Woedmonath, or Weidmonath, i.e. *Weedmonth*, a name, which, as we have already seen, was also given to June.‡

* "Augustus deinde est, qui Sextilis ante vocatus est, donec honori Augusti daretur ex senatusconsulto." *Aur. Macrobii Saturnal:* Lib. i. p. 261, 8vo. Bipont, 1788.

† *De Temporum Ratione*, cap. 13—De Mensibus Anglorum.

‡ It may be as well in this place to notice some peculiarities of the Saxon calendar, which ought perhaps to have been mentioned before. From Bede (De Temporum Ratione, cap. 13), we learn that the Saxons commenced their year on the 25th December, and called it the *Mother of Nights—Mædrenech*—and probably on account of the ceremonies then celebrated. When it was the *common year*, they gave three lunar months to each season; when it was the *Embolismus* they added the superfluous month to the summer, so that then three months were

The *Corn* now glows in all its golden or yellow hues, and the *Amaranth* is in full flower, sometimes called *Love lies Bleeding*, perhaps from the way in which its long spiral red flower-stalks fall down and lie on the ground. There is, however, another species called *Princes Feather*, with red leaves, the flowers of which are always erect. The holly hock shows itself in all its varieties, and continues blowing till the end of October, while the edges are full of the TOADFLAX with its tall pyramid-spikes of yellow flowers, and remain so till September. The *Roundleaved Bellflower*, which had begun to open its blossoms in July, now in a few days flowers abundantly, and throughout the whole Autumn decorates dry banks, ruined walls, and

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called LIDA, and hence the year was named TRILIDI. In general, they divided the year into two equal seasons, of six months each,—summer and winter—giving the months with the longest days to summer; and those with the shortest to winter. Hence the month, in which the winter-season commenced, was called WINTERFYLLITH, the name being compounded of *winter* and *full moon*, because the winter began with the full moon of the same month.

I know not whether any of my readers will thank me for adding, that the *Common Year* is that which has only twelve lunar months, namely, 354 days—"*Communis Annus* dicitur qui duodecim tantum lunas, hoc est dies 354, habet." (ISIDORI HISPAL. EPISC. ETYMOL., Lib.vi., cap.17.) while *Embolismus* is the year which has thirteen lunar months, namely, 364 days. It is so called because it fills up the number of *Common Years*, to which eleven lunar days are seen to be wanting. The two years may be thus found: if from the fourteenth moon of the preceding to the fourteenth of the following, there are three hundred and sixty four days, then it is the *Embolismal* year; if three hundred and fifty four, then it is the *Common*—"Embolismus annus est qui tredecim menses lunares, i.e. 364 dies, habere monstratur. Embolismus autem nomen Græcum est, quod interpretatur Latinè, *superaugmentum*, eò quòd expleat numerum annorum communium, quibus undecim lunares dies deesse cernuntur. Embolismi autem anni et communes sic inveniuntur. Si enim a decima quarta luna paschæ præcedentis usque ad decimam quartam sequentis, 364 dies fuerint, embolismalis annus est; si 354, communis." *Idem*, p. 50.

the sides of pastures with its little hanging, light blue flowers. About the middle of the month, the *Marvel of Peru*, and the *China Asters*, as well as the *Zinnia*, and other æstival flowers of this sort are in the height of flowering; then come the *Hedge* and *Field Bindweed St. John's Wort, Field and Musk Mallow, Garden Convolvulus*, with many others. But as August declines, the number of plants is sensibly diminished; roses now are fast decaying, though *Marygolds, Poppies, Stocks, Wall-flowers, Foxgloves*, many of the senecious plants, and others which blow all the year round, are still of course in profusion. But while those of the preceding months are thus running fast to seed, very few new ones come to supply their place. To make amends the wastes and commons are covered with *heath* or *ling* as with a rich purple mantle; and the low moist lands are adorned with the *Gentiana Amarella* and the beautiful pink blossoms of the *Meadow Saffron*. As we advance nearer to the close of the month, a few violets may still be seen, and some of the autumnal species of the genus *Amaryllis* begin to blow.

In fruits August is particularly rich. We have in succession *Apricots, Peaches, Nectarines*, and *Plums*; and a few early *Pears* begin to ripen, while *Currants, Gooseberries*, and *Strawberries* are on the decline. In fact it may be observed that all the *Solstitial* fruits are either gone or rapidly passing away, and we have fairly come into the season of the *Æstival* Pomona. Towards the close of the month, *Barley* becomes ripe, a few early apples are fit for the table, *Melons, Blackberries, Bilberries, Dogberries, Mulberries*, and *Walnuts*, abound; and, what is of yet more importance, we have now the most usual time for harvest, though it may occasionally happen in some counties that the corn is not carried till the middle of September.

The Insect tribe, as a natural consequence of the month's productive powers, is also abundant. The *Lady Bird* or *Lady Cow* is very common, and, though often slandered by ignorance as being the cause of blights, it is in truth their greatest enemy, for both in its perfect and larva state it feeds upon the *Aphis*, which is itself the blight in question. Nor is it less useful in the hop-countries, as it there destroys the blight so injurious to the *hop*, which is gathered about the middle of the month. The same good however can not be said of the *Harvest Bug*, which in some of our southern counties is particularly troublesome, or of the *flies* which at this time abound everywhere; and they are soon joined by the yet more annoying array of wasps. Now too the *Mole* burrows; and the *Glow-worm*, the *Solitary Bee*, and the *White Moth* make their appearance; the *Tabanus Pluvialis* begins his formidable attack on the cattle, piercing their skins with his proboscis and causing severe inflammation, while the beautiful *Dragon Fly*, (*Libellula*) though perfectly harmless, bears all the blame under the name of *Horse-Stinger*. We next begin to miss the *Swifts* (*Hirundo apus*), which now migrate, though it is not ascertained to what countries they go upon leaving Europe.

The month is about three parts over, and the *Earwig* and other insects of the kind are numerous in places where vines or creeping plants are nailed against the walls. Soon afterwards we find *Lapwings* congregate, *Martins and Swallows* assemble in flocks, and *Linnets*, *Sparrows*, and other birds are seen in abundance, while the air swarms with *Butterflies*. The *Grasshoppers* sing less and less every day, and with the end of the month the best river-fishing ceases.

Gule of August.—Lammas Day.—St. Peter ad Vincula.—(August 1st).—The first of these names has been a source of much trouble to etymologists and antiquarians. What

can *Gule* possibly mean? Blount tells us* that it was named GULE from the Latin *Gula*, a throat; and he refers us to Durandus, who says nothing at all about the derivation of *Gule*, but who, while giving many excellent reasons for the day being dedicated to *St. Peter ad Vincula*, tells a tale that inferentially may seem to some to bear out his opinion.—"Quirinus the Tribune having a daughter with a diseased throat—filiam gutturosam—she at the command of Pope Alexander, who was the sixth from St. Peter, sought the chains with which the apostle had been bound under Nero, and kissed them, whereupon she was made whole."† Hence Blount very logically infers that the day "was termed indifferently, either *St. Peter's Day ad Vincula*, from the instrument that wrought the miracle, or the *Gule of August*, from that part of the virgin whereon the miracle was wrought."‡

This absurd fancy is well ridiculed by Gebelin, who says that August being the first month of the year with the Egyptians, the first day of it was by them called *Gule*, and subsequently latinized into *Gula*.§

* Blount's LAW DICTIONARY—sub voce, *Gula*.

† Durandi RATIONALE DIV. OFFIC. Lib. vii. cap. 19, p. 294. Spelman, in his Glossary, follows in the same tract.

‡ In the face of Blount's own explanation, which I have here faithfully given from his Glossary, Brand says—and of course his editor, Sir Henry Ellis, who never enquires into any thing, does not correct him—"Blount tells us that *Lammas Day*, the first of August, otherwise called the Gule, or Yule, of August, may be a corruption of the British word, *Gwyl Awst*, signifying the Feast of August." Such a thing may indeed occur in an edition that I have not seen; but, if so it is a flat contradiction of his own words.

§ "Comme le mois d'Août etoit le premier de l'année Egyptienne on en appella le premier jour, *Gule*; ce mot latinisé fit *gula*. Nos legendaires surpris de voir ce nom à la tete du mois d'Août, ne s'oublierent pas; ils en firent la fete de la fille du tribun Quirinus, guerié d'un mal de gorge en baisant les liens de S. Pierre dont on célebre la fête ce jour la."—ALLEGORIES ORIENTALES, *Monde Primitif*, p. 194 4to. Paris, 1774.

Bede explains it as allusive to the sun's return, and we may therefore suppose derives it from the Anglo-Saxon GEHWEOL, a *wheel*, as Gebelin has done. "*Iol*," says the latter writer, "pronounced *Hiol, Iol, Jul, Giul, Hweol, Wheel, Wiel, Vol,* &c. is a primitive word carrying with it the idea of revolution or of a wheel."* Dr. Pettingal † derives it from the ancient British, Saxon, or Celtic, or by whatever name we choose to designate that early language, which was used by the inhabitants of this country in common with Gaul, Spain, and Illyricum, before they were over-run by the Romans.‡ It appears by the old tongue still in use amongst the Welsh that a holyday is called by them *Wyl;* or, to strengthen the sound, *Gwyl;* thus in the rubrick of the Welsh liturgy every Saint's Day is the *Wyl*, or Gwyl of such a saint; and in common conversation the *Day of St. John* is called *Gwyl Ievan;* and of St. Andrew, *Gwyl Andreas;* and the first of August, *Gwyl Aust.* The mere difference of letters, however they may stagger those inexperienced in such matters, present not the slightest difficulty to the etymologist; in the Old English, or British, language, the *Y, W,* and *G,* were used interchangeably for each other, and thus *Yule, Wyl,* and *Gwyl,* are but one and the same word, and signify the same thing—i.e. a feast—though differently written.§ If this be a correct view of the matter, the *Gule of August* means

* ALLEGORIES ORIENTALES, *Monde Primitif*, p. 193.

† See Archæologia, vol. ii. p. 3.

‡ These languages appear to have been so nearly alike, that we may fairly call them dialects of the same tongue. It is moreover allowed by Camden, Spelman, and other received authorities, that a considerable part of the present language is to be derived from the OLD ONE, above alluded to.

§ Thus in our old writers it is common to find YAVE for *gave*, YEVEN for *given;* while in *ward* and *guard* we see instances of the same sort of change, for the two words are identical.

no more than the feast or holyday of August, which was held as such originally, when the English during the papal supremacy paid their *Peter Pence* to Rome. Following up this notion I should be inclined to think with Pettingal that when the Saxons became Christian they called the month of December, *Giuli*, or the month of the *great Gule*, or Nativity, by way of eminence

The meaning, here attributed to the word, is completely borne out by Hickes, although he gives it a somewhat different derivation, telling us that I-OL, Cimbric—written by the Anglo-Saxons GEOL, and Dan. Sax. IUL —the *o* being readily changed into *u* by the intensive prefixes *i* and *ge*,—make *el, ol*, a "symposium," a "feast," and more emphatically the feasts at Christmas.*

There is, however, one objection to Pettingal's theory, or at least to a part of it. If Gebelin's assumption be correct that the Egyptians used *Gule* to designate the great festival at the commencement of their year, we have a case

* See F. Junii ETYMOLOGICUM ANGLICANUM—sub voce *Yeol*. I should observe too some have maintained that the word being Gothic it could not possibly have a Celtic derivation, the languages being so different. It may be so; but, as we have just seen, even *that* would not affect the interpretation given by Pettingal; Gothic or Celtic, it would equally mean, "a feast;" and this after all is the principal point. I have already remarked that *ale*, as we find it in the compounds, *Church-ale, Bride-ale*, &c., is but another form of *Yule, Gule*, or *Ule*, for even this last mode of writing the word is not uncommon; thus according to Brand, who quotes from Blount, "in Yorkshire and our other northern parts they have an old custom, after sermon or service on Christmas Day, the people will, even in the churches cry, *Ule, ule, ule*, as a token of rejoicing; and the common sorts run about the streets singing,

Ule, ule, ule!
Three puddings in a pule;
Crack nuts, and cry, ule."

So also in RAY'S PROVERBS—"It is good to cry *Ule* at other men's costs."

of priority established against the claims of either Celt or Saxon; they could only have been borrowers. It will be in vain to object that the Welsh applied the term, not to any particular feast, but to feasts in general; the meaning of words naturally widens and extends in the course of time, and nothing is more common than the transition from a special, to a *general*, application of them.

Lammas Day.—This was another name for the first of August, which by some has been supposed to signify a *Lamb-Mass*, because on that day the tenants, who held lands of the Cathedral Church in York, which is dedicated to St. Peter ad Vincula, were bound by their tenure to bring a live lamb into the church at high mass. Others give the same derivation, but explain it by saying that "lambs were not then fit to eat, they were grown too big." Others again have imagined that it came from the Anglo-Saxon *Hlafmaesse*, i.e. *Loaf-Mass*, "because on that day the English made an offering of bread made with new wheat."*

On this day also became payable the so-called *Peter-Pence*, a tax levied to the amount of a penny upon every hearth or chimney throughout England, and which was likewise called *Rome-feogh*, *Heard-Penny*, or *Rome-scot*. The origin of this tax, or alms, is a matter of much doubt, having been attributed to various times and individuals. According to Mathew of Westminster, somewhere about the year 727, Ina, King of Wessex, leaving his kingdom to his relative, Æthelhard, set forth on a pilgrimage to Rome, where, with the consent of Pope Gregory, he established the *Schola Anglorum*, (the School of the Angles),†

* *Blount's Law Dictionary*—sub voce *Lammas*.

† I have rendered *Schola Anglorum* by *School of the Angles*, from a doubt whether the word, *English*, was in use so early as the reign of Ina. At all events the title of *England* was not applied to any part of the country until the time of Ecgberht, A.D. 800, when the mo-

known afterwards under the name of *Hospitale di S. Spirito in Vico de Sassia.* The object of this institution was to bring up the English kings, priests, and laity, in the true Roman Catholic faith, for the schools in their own country had been so tainted with heresies, that from the time of Saint Augustine they had been interdicted by the Roman pontiffs. To defray the expence of the new establishment, as well as of some other pious freaks in which he indulged himself, Ina laid a penny-tax upon every family throughout the whole territory of the West Saxons,* thus reminding one very strongly of Horace's

"Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi."

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narch with the consent of his people in a parliament held at Winchester, ordered the name of his kingdom to be changed, and called England.—"A.D. D.C.C.C. Egbertus, rex totius Britanniæ, in parliamento apud Wintoniam, mutavit nomen regni de consensu populi sui, et jussit illud de cætero vocari Angliam."—HISTORIA FUNDATIONIS HOSPIT. S. LEONARDI, in *Mon. Angl.*, vol. vi. p. 608.

At the same time it should be observed that the compound word, *Anglo-Saxons*, occurs first in Paul Warnefrid (lib. vi. c. 15)—"Cedoaldus, rex *Anglorum-Saxorum*," and consequently—as Lappenberg observes, who has also noticed this fact—before the time of Ecgberht.

* "Anno gratiæ 727 Ina, rex felix et potens, Æthelhardo, cognato suo, regnum suum relinquens, Romam petiit ut pro regno temporali commutaret æternum. Quò cum pervenisset, fecit in civitate domum, consensu et voluntate Gregorii, papæ, quam *scholam Anglorum* appellari fecit. Ad quam reges Angliæ, et genus regium, cum episcopis, presbyteris, et clericis, in doctrina et fide catholica erudiendi venirent, ne quid in ecclesia Anglicana sinistrum aut catholicæ unitati contrarium doceretur, et sic in fide stabili roborati ad propria remearent. Erant enim doctrina et scholæ Anglorum, a temporibus sancti Augustini, per Romanos pontifices interdictæ propter assiduas hæreses quæ in adventu Anglorum in Britannia emerserant, dum pagani Christianis permixti sanctæ conversationis gratiam corruperant fidei Christianæ. Fecit propterea, juxta domum præfatam, ecclesiam in honorem beatæ Virginis Mariæ fabricari, in qua Anglis Romam advenientibus divina celebrarentur misteria, et in qua possent, si quem ex Anglis Romæ mori contingeret, sepeliri. Et, hæc omnia ut perpetuæ firmitatis

But a life of Offa, king of Mercia, which has been ascribed to Mathew of Paris, gives another version of this story. This prince, having greatly to his joy got rid of his wife, Queen Quendride, resolved to lead a life of celibacy, and, growing more pious every day, in this blessed state resolved to build a monastery in honour of the protomartyr, Saint Alban. To give the greater eclat to the

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robur obtinerent, statutum est generali decreto per totum regnum occidentalium Saxonum, in quo predictus Ina regnabat, ut singulis annis de singulis familiis denarius unus, qui Anglicè *Romescot* appellatur, beato Petro et ecclesiæ Romanæ mitteretur, ut Angli ibidem commorantes vitale subsidium inde haberent." *Flores Historiarum per Matthæum Westmonasteriensem Collecti.* Vol. i. p. 265, folio, Londini, 1570.

It may seem strange that a man of Lord Campbell's learning and research should have been ignorant of an historical fact like this; yet it is plain that he was so, for we find him in his *Lives of the Chancellors*, (vol. i. p. 30), attributing the origin of Rome-scot to St. Swithin, who was not born till the commencement of the ninth century, or about a hundred years after the time of Ina. His words are these—"He (St. Swithin) was much admired by ecclesiastics of Rome, as well as in his own country, having first established in England for the benefit of the Pope the payment called Peter Pence. In consequence about fifty years after his death he was canonized." Had Lord Campbell known of very contrary statements being on the record, surely he would have noticed them. Even supposing that he chooses, as some others have done, to reject the authority of Mathew of Westminster, still there is the account of Mathew of Paris to be got over, who assigns this Peter-Pence to the invention of Offa, King of Mercia.

In regard, however, to Saint Swithin, that worthy gentleman will lose nothing with his friends by having this borrowed feather plucked from his wing, for quite enough of the same sort of merit will remain to give him a just claim to their unqualified admiration. On all occasions he showed himself a staunch friend to the Church at the expense of the people, and amongst other good deeds procured a law to be passed in the Wittenagemot for the universal and compulsory payment of tythes, as I have already mentioned; and it is probable that it was for this the monks thought proper to canonize him.

intended establishment, he was advised to visit Rome in person, that it might be privileged by the pope himself, a counsel to which he cheerfully acceded. Arrived at the eternal city, he is graciously received by the Roman Pontiff, who compliments him not a little on his celibacy,* and so wins him over by his kindness that he begins to think what he can do in return for it. At length, on entering the "Schola Anglorum" next day, he is happily inspired with the idea† of laying a yearly tax of a penny upon every family in his kingdom; and the project is so highly approved of by the pontiff, that he consents to exempt every English penitent from undergoing exile in the accomplishment of his penance.‡ And here again one can not help admiring the dexterity of the Roman See in

* "Verè cœlebem vitam agentibus meritò mittendus fuit angelus, cùm castitate cognata sit puritas Angelica." MATTHÆI PARIS—HISTORIA MAJOR, p. 29. *Vita Offæ Secundi*, folio, Londini, 1640. I ought perhaps to add, the Pope in this speech refers to the fact of an angel having been sent to King Offa to show him where to find the bones of Alban.

† "His igitur auditis rex quid dignè tantæ benignitati compenset secum studiosè pertractat. Tandem *divina inspirante gratia* consilium invenit salubre, et in die crastina Scholam Anglorum, qui (quæ) tunc Romæ floruit, ingressus, dedit ibi ex *Regali munificentia* ad sustentationem gentis regni sui illuc venientis singulos argenteos de familiis singulis, omnibus in posterum diebus, singulis annis." Idem. p. 29. There is something exceedingly characteristic in this royal munificence, (regalis munificéntia) which gives away other people's money, and the jest is heightened when we find the liberal and pious monarch especially exempting his new foundation of St. Albans from the impost—"excepta tota terra Sancti Albani suo monasterio conferenda, prout postea collata privilegia testantur." What between saints, kings, Danes, and Normans, our Saxon ancestors must have had a pleasant time of it.

‡ "Ex hoc tali largitate obtinuit et conditione ut de regno Angliæ nullus publicè pœnitens pro executione sibi injunctæ pœnitentiæ subiret exilium." Id. p. 29.

turning every thing to the advantage of its treasury. Prohibitions were multiplied, and new moral duties imposed upon mankind, simply that the pontiff might make a profit by selling his exemptions from them. At first indeed it would seem that this Rome-scot was rather an alms granted by the Saxons for the benefit of their brethren, and not a tax to enrich the court of Rome, but it was speedily converted, in part at least, from its original intention, and found its way into the papal coffers. According to Thoms,* who quotes from Collet, the whole sum thus collected, amounted only to £200, 6*s.* 8*d.*—a very nice calculation that only wanted the farthings, to be a perfect monument of antiquarian fidelity and learning.

The Transfiguration—August 6—"A feast celebrated by the Papists in memory of our Saviour's *transfiguring* himself upon Mount Thabor, and showing a glimpse of his glory to his apostles, St. Peter, St. James, and St. John. *And his face,* saith the text (Matt. xvii. 2,) *shone as the sun, and his garment became white as snow.*"† Durandus says it was established by Pope Calixtus the Second, and not because the Transfiguration took place on that day, but because it was the day on which the event was published and made manifest by the apostles, who were with Christ upon the Mount.‡ Baronius, however, quoting the most ancient Greek menologues and other sufficient authorities, maintains that the festival was of much older date than the time of Calixtus the Second.§

* Anecdotes and Traditions of early English History and Literature, p. 117. Qrto. London, 1839. Camden Society.

† Festa Anglo-Romana, p. 94.

‡ "Sequitur de festo Transfigurationis Domini, quod est in die beati Sexti, non quia tali die trãsfiguratio facta sit, sed quia tũc ab Apostolis, qui secũ fuerũt in monte, fuit manifestata, publicata, et prædicata." Durandi Div. Offic. Rat., lib. vii., cap. 12, p. 294.

§ Institutio ejus solemnitatis longè ante ejus tempora facta conspicitur." Baronii Martyrologium Romanum; Augusti 6, p. 497.

END OF THE DOG-DAYS.—This takes place on the 11th of August.

Assumption of the Virgin Mary—August 15.—This is also called by Roman Catholic writers the *Passage* or *Repose of the Virgin Mary*, who however seem puzzled to settle when and where she died, or even to fix the time of her *Assumption*, that is to say of her being raised at once, or *assumed*, into Heaven, before the general resurrection of the dead; for it was only the Collyridian heretics, who imagined she was of a divine nature and exempted from the common necessity of death.* Eusebius says she died A.D. 48, and was at once taken up to Heaven. Others say, that she died after the lapse of one year from her Son's ascension, and so many days as intervene between that time and the 15th of August, and then after another forty days was *assumed* to glory. This last, according to Belethus (cap. 147), was learnt in a vision by a most religious woman called Elizabeth, who makes a *Second Assumption*,—namely, an assumption of the *body* after that of the *spirit*. Gregory of Tours states that when she was about to die, the Apostles watched by her, and "behold the Lord Jesus came with his angels, and receiving her spirit delivered it to the archangel Michael and departed. But early in the morning the Apostles raised up the body with the bed, and placed it in a sepulchre."† As to the place of her death, Butler tells us that

* "Scire debemus improbatam fuisse ab Ecclesia Catholica opinionem Collyridianorum hæreticorum asserentium beatam Virginem divinæ fuisse naturæ prorsusque mortis expertem." BARONII MARTYROLOGIUM R.—August 15, p. 517.

† "Denique impleto a beata Maria hujus vitæ cursu cum jam vocaretur à sæculo, congregati sunt omnes apostoli a singulis regionibus ad domum ejus. Cumque audiissent quia esset adsumenda de mundo vigilabant cum ea simul. Et ecce Dominus Jesu advenit cum angelis suis, et, accipiens animam ejus, tradidit Michäeli archangelo, et recessit.

some think she died at Ephesus, and others imagine she ended her days at Jerusalem.

MINSTREL'S BULL-RUNNING AT TUTBURY,*—August 16.—In the monastic times it was the custom on the morrow† of the Assumption,—that is to say, on the 16th of August—for the Prior of Tutbury to turn out a bull at the abbey-gate for the amusement of the minstrels, who appear at one period to have formed a sort of guild in that part of the country. As soon as the bull's "horns are cut off, his ears cropt, his taile cut by the stumple, all his body smeared over with soap, and his nose blown full of beaten pepper—in short being made as mad as 'tis possible for him to be—after solemn proclamation made by the steward that all manner of persons give way to the bull, none being to come near him by 40 foot, any way to hinder the minstrells, but to attend his or their own safeties, every one at his perill; he is then forthwith turned out to them, (anciently by the prior, now by the Lord Devonshire or his deputy) to be taken by them, and none other, within the county of Stafford between the time of his being turned out to them and the setting of the sun on the same day; which if they

Diluculo autem levaverunt Apostoli cum lectulo corpus ejus, posueruntque illud in monumento." S. GREGORII TURONIS OP. *De Gloria Martyrum*, cap. 10.

* "Stutesberie, Toteberie, or Tutbury as it is now called, is an antient honour situated in the North-east borders of the hundred of Offlow, about five miles from Burton, and on the south banks of the river, Dove, which separates it from the county of Derby. It probably derives its name from some statue or altar erected on the Castle Hill, in the time of the Saxons to the Gaulish God Tot, or Thoth, Mercury, from whom also Tuesday has its appellation, as Wednesday hath from Woden." *Shaw's History of Staffordshire*, vol. i. p. 37, folio, London, 1798.

† The learned reader will, I trust, excuse me if I venture to remind others that the *morrow* of the assumption is a very different thing from the *morning*; in fact it means the day afterwards.

can not doe, but the bull escapes from them untaken, and gets over the river* into Darbyshire, he remains still my Lord Devonshire's bull; but if the said Minstrells can take him, and hold him so long as to cutt off but some small matter of his hair, and bring the same to the Mercat Cross in token they have taken him, the said bull is then brought to the bailiff's house in Tutbury, and there coller'd and roap'd and so brought to the bull-ring, in the high-street, and there baited with doggs, the first course being allotted for the king; the second for the honour of the towne; and the third for the king of the Minstrells. Which, after it is done, the said Minstrells are to have him for their owne, and may sell, or kill, and divide amongst them, according as they shall think good."†

Dr. Plot imagines that this custom was derived from the Spanish bull-fights, and introduced into this country by John of Gaunt; but this seems to be a very idle conjecture; as regards the first part of it, there is no similarity whatever between the two sports, while, as to the second, the bull was provided by the prior and not by John of Gaunt,‡ who was the receiver, instead of the giver, on this occasion, the Minstrels paying him a yearly fine for their privilege. I should imagine then that the delivery of the bull belonged to some obsolete, and now forgotten, tenure, though the Minstrels came in after times to enjoy the benefit of it, and probably when first

* i.e. the river Dove.

† Dr. Plot's HISTORY OF STAFFORDSHIRE, p. 435, folio, Oxford, 1686.

‡ "Item est ibidem quædam consuetudo quòd histriones, venientes ad matutinas in festo Assumptionis beatæ Mariæ, *habebant unum taurum de Priore de Tuttebury*, si ipsum capere possuit citra Aquam, Doue, propinquiorem Tuttebury; vel Prior dabit eis xl^{d}. pro qua quidem consuetudine dabuntur domino ad dictum festum annuatim xx^{d}."—Dugdale MONASTICON ANGLICANUM, vol. iii. p. 397. *Tutbury Priory*, folio, London, 1821.

John of Gaunt issued his letters patent compelling them to do the usual suits and services on the feast of the Assumption. This last mentioned document is still extant in an *inspeximus* of King Henry the Sixth, relative to the customs of Tutbury; it bears date the 22nd of August, in the fourth year of King Richard the Second, is entitled "CARTA DE ROY DE MINSTRALX," and runs thus:—"Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to all whom these presents shall come, greeting. We have inspected the letters patent of John, late King of Castile and Leon, and Duke of Lancaster, our great grandfather, in these words—'John by the Grace of God King of Castile and Leon, Duke of Lancaster, to all who shall see or hear these our letters, greeting. Know we have ordained, constituted, and assigned our well-beloved King of the Minstrels in our honour of Tutbury, who is, or for the time shall be, to apprehend and arrest all the Minstrels in our said honour and franchise that refuse to do the service and minstrelsy, appertaining to them from old times at Tutbury aforesaid yearly, on the Assumption of our Lady; giving and granting to the said king of the minstrels for the time being, full power and command to execute reasonable judgment, and to constrain them to do their services and minstrelsies in manner as belongs to them, and as it hath been used there and of ancient times accustomed. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made, given under our privy seal at our castle of Tutbury, the 22nd day of August, in the fourth year of the reign of our most gracious king, Richard the Second.'—And we, at the request of our beloved in Christ Thomas Gedney, Prior of Tutbury, have by these presents caused the aforesaid letters to be exemplified, in witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Given under the seal of our

Duchy of Lancaster, at our palace of Westminster, this 22nd day of February, in the twenty-first year of our reign."*

In the process of time either the King of the Minstrels, like other monarchs, grew too despotic, or his subjects too rebellious, for it was found requisite to establish a court to hear and determine controversies, over which the steward of the honour presided. This was held on the

* "CARTA DE ROY DE MINSTRALX. *(Ex registro de Tutbury penes Henricum Ayard militem. Nunc penes Coll. Armor.)* Henricus, sextus, Dei gratia rex Angliæ, et Franciæ, et dominus Hiberniæ, ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint, salutem. Inspeximus literas patentes Johannis nuper regis Castellæ et Legionis, ducis Lancastriæ, proavi nostri, factas in hæc verba. 'Johan, par la grace de Dieu roy de Castile et de Leon, duke de Lancastre, a touts ceux qui cestes nos letres vorront ou orront saluz. Saches nous avoir ordenoz constitut et assignez nostre bien ame le roy des ministraulx deins nostre honour de Tutebury quore est, ou qui pur le temps serra, pur prendre et arrester touts les ministralx deins meisme nostre honour et franchise queux refusont de faire lour services et ministralcie as eux appurtenants a faire de ancient temps a Tuttebury suisdit annualment les jours del Assumption de Nostre Dame. Donants et grantant au dit roy de ministralx pur le temps esteant plein poiar et mandement de les faire resonablement justifier et constrener de faire lour services et ministralscies en maner come appeint et come illonque ad este use et de ancient temps accustome. En testimoignance de quel chose nous avons fait faire cestes noz letres patens, don souz nostre privie seal a nostre castell de Tuttebury le XXII. jour de August le an de regne nostre tresdulces le roy Richard Second quart.' Nos autem literas prædictas ad requisitionem dilecti nobis in Christo Thomæ Gedney prioris de Tuttebury duximus exemplificandas per præsentes. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Datum sub sigillo nostri ducatus Lancastr. apud palatium nostrum de Westmonast. XXII. die Februar. anno regni nostri vicesimo primo."—Dugdale's MONASTICON ANGLICANUM, vol. iii. p. 397, folio, Lond. 1821. I should observe that the word "sextus" is not in any copy of Dugdale that I have seen, but as it certainly seems essential I have ventured to give it on the authority of Blount's FRAGMENTA ANTIQUITATIS, p. 167.

morrow of the Assumption, or August 16, to which day the feast also was transferred, though wherefore, or at what precise time, it is now impossible to ascertain. The earliest account we have of this ceremony is in the "Coucher Book of the Honour of Tutburye," (cap. de Libertatibus,) from which the following extract has been given by the indefatigable Blount.*

"The prior of Tutburye shall have yerely one† oure Ladye day the Assumption a bukke delivered him of seyssone‡ by the woodmaster and kepers of Nedewoode; and the woodmaster and kepers of Needwoode shale every yere mete at a loddge in Needwoode, called Birkeley lodgye, by one of the cloke att afternone, one Seynt Laurence day,§ at which day and place a woodmote‖ shall be

* *Fragmenta Antiquitatis*, p. 168. 8vo. ed. and 529 of 4to.

† i. e.—*on.*

‡ i. e.—season.

§ That is on the tenth of August, so that there seem to have been some few changes as to the time of holding this festival.

‖ The Woodmote Court was a court of the forest "held for the foresters to bring in their attachments concerning any hurt or injury done in viridi et venatione"—or as it is usually called vert and venison —" in the forest; and for the verders to receive and enroll the same; and this court being held by the charter of the forest, ad videndum attachiamenta, 'tis therefore called the court of attachments," (*Manwood's Forest Laws*, p. 23.) But it would seem from the passage in our text that the judicature of these courts was not restricted to vert and venison only, and perhaps we shall not greatly err in supposing that it extended to most matters connected with the forest, notwithstanding that Manwood expressly says (Idem) "this court is not to meddle with any thing but such which concerns an injury or hurt done, or to be done, to the vert or venison." He adds too that it is only a court of *inquest*, the offender can not be *convicted* here; he can be attached by his goods only, and not in person, except he was actually taken in the commission of the offence, or, as it was styled in the case of killing deer, *red-handed.*

At first these courts were held at no fixed times, their less or greater frequency being regulated by the will of the chief officers of the forest.

kept, and everye keper makinge deffalte shall loose xii d. to the kynge; and there the woodmaster and kepers shall chose of the kepers yerely, as itt cometh to there turne, to be stewards for to prepare the dyner, at Tutbury Castell, one our Ladye dey the Assumption, for the woodmaster and kepers and officers within the chase; and there they shall appoint in lykewise where the bukke shall be kylled for the prior ageynst the saide Ladye dey; and also where the bukke shall be kylde for the keper's dyner against the same day; and on the saide Feaste of Assumption the woodmaster,* or his lyvetenant, and the kepers and their

To remedy this inconvenience it was enacted in the *Charta Forestæ*, that they should be held once in every forty days, and hence by some they have been called the *Forty Days' Courts*. The attachment being made, it was then presented to the next *Swanimote*, a court which was held three times a year—namely: fifteen days before the feast of Saint Michael—fifteen days before the feast of Saint John the Baptist—and about the feast of Saint Martin, or November 11th. These days, however, were not arbitrarily fixed upon without a definite object, but were chosen in reference to the seasons for pasturing sheep and cattle in the royal forests, for preserving the wild beasts in their time of fawning, and for feeding swine on the mast from the trees. The first and last of these are called, in the language of the law, *agistments*, which literally meant "a driving out of animals to feed," and which therefore applied with great propriety, to the grazing of sheep or cattle, and to the consumption of acorns and beech-nuts by the swine.

* The *woodmaster*, I should imagine, is the officer of the forest, more usually known under the name of *woodward*, whose business it was to apprehend all offenders against the forest-laws, and to look after the woods and vert there. He was bound to appear at every *Court of Attachment, or Woodmote*, for the purpose of presenting such offences as might be done within his charge, at which time he must present his hatchet, the emblem of his office, to the Lord Chief Justice in Eyre. This *woodward*, however must not be confounded with the foresters, though to a certain extent their duties would seem to have been in common, for he might be appointed by any owner of woods in the forest, provided only it was in a part of it where the office had previously existed; the making of a woodward, where there

deputies, shall be at Tutburye, and every man one horse-bake, and soo ryde in order two and two together from the Yate, called the Lydeat, goinge into the commen felde unto the highe crosse in the towne; and the keper in whose office the Seynt Mary bukke was killed shall beire the bukk's heede garnished about with a rye* of pease; and the bukk's heede must be cabaged† with the whole face and yeers‡ beinge one,§ the sengill‖ of the bukke with two peces of fatte one either side of the sengill must be fastened upon the broo-ankelers¶ of the same heede; and every keper must have a grene boghe** in his hand; and every keper that is absent that day beinge noder†† sikke nor in the king's service shall lose xii d; and soo the kepers shall ridde two and two together tyll they come to the said crosse in the towne; and all the minstrells shall goe afore them one foote, two and two together; and the woodmaster, or in his absence hys lyvetenant, shall ride hindermost after all the kepers; and at the said crosse in the town the foremost keper shall blowe

had not been such an office before, was finable. If moreover he neglected to appear in court at the time appointed, the wood of the person, for whom he acted, was seized; and, if not replevied within a year, it became forfeited to the king. Upon the replevy, the owner was fined for not having had a woodward.

* *Rye of pease.* Neither Blount nor Beckwith have taken the slightest notice of this phrase, either because they deemed it too simple, or found it too difficult for explanation. It means a *garnish of pease*; RYE, or, as Grose writes it, REVE, is a Devonshire term for dressing or garnishing any thing; and in fact is but another mode of writing *ray*, or *array*, i. e. dress.

† CABAGED, i. e. *cabossed*, cut off close behind the ears.

‡ YEERS, i. e. *ears.*

§ ONE, i. e. *on*—the whole face and ears being entire.

‖ SENGILL, a *Single*, or *Tail.*

¶ BROO-ANKELERS, *Brow-antlers.*

** BOGHE, a *Bough.*

†† NODER, *Neither.*

a *seeke*,* and all the other kepers shall answer him in blowinge the same, and when they come to the cornell† ageynst the Yue-hall the foremost keper shall blow a recheate,‡ and all the other kepers shall answer hyme in blowinge of the same. And so they shall ride still tyll they come into the church yarde, and then light and goo into the churche in like arrey, and all the minstrells shall play one their instruments duringe the offeringe tyme, and the woodmaster, or in his absence his livetenant, shall offer up the bukk's head mayd in silver, and every keper shall offer a peny; and as soone as the bukk's head is offered uppe all the kepers shall blow a morte§ three tymes; and then all the keepers goo into a chappell and shall there have one of the monks redye to say them masse; and when masse is done, all the kepers goo in lyke arreye uppe to the castell to dynner; and when dynner is done, the stewards goo to the prior of Tutbury, and he shall give them yerely xxx s. towards the charges of there dynner; and if the dynner come to more the keipers shall beire it amongst them; and one the morrow after the assumption there is a court kept of the minstrells, at which court the woodmaster or his livetenant shall be; and shall oversee that every minstrell dwellynge within the honor and makinge defaute shall be amercyed, which amercement the kynge of the minstrells shall have; and after the courte done the pryor shall deliver the minstrells a bull, or xviii s. of money, and shall turne hyme loose amongst them; and if he escape over Dove river, the

* Blowe a seek. Beckwith (p. 532) explains this by, "a manner of blowing a huntsman's horn such as is used when they seek a deer."

† "Cornell, an old word used for a thing that standeth in the fore-part of an angle, or used for the fore-front of a house."—*Minshew's Ductor in Linguas.*

‡ "Blow a recheate—such as the huntsmen blow to call back the hounds from a false scent."—*Beckwith Fragmenta Antiq.* p. 532.

§ "Blowe a morte. A particular air that is blown on the horn when the deer is killed, or killing." (being killed). *Beckwith*, p. 532.

bull is the priour's owne ageyne; and if the minstrells can take the bull ore he gett over the Dove, then the bull is their owne."

The more modern ceremony, though still of an antient date, is given both by Plot,* and Blount,† and is detailed at yet greater length by Beckwith.‡ The first however will be found quite sufficient to satisfy any but a professed antiquarian, and from him therefore I have borrowed the account that follows:

"All the minstrels within the honour come first to the bayliff's house of the manor of Tutbury (who is now the Earl of Devonshire,) where the steward for the court to be holden for the king, as Duke of Lancaster (who is now the Duke of Ormond) or his deputy meeting them, they all goe from thence to the parish church of Tutbury, two and two together, musick playing before them, the king of the minstrells for the year past walking between the steward and bayliffe, or their deputies; the four stewards, or under officers of the said king of the minstrells, each with a white wand in their hands immediately following them; and then the rest of the company in order. Being come to the church, the vicar reads them divine service, chusing psalms and lessons suitable to the occasion. For which service every minstrell offered one penny, as a due always paid to the vicar of the church of Tutbury upon this solemnity.

"Service being ended, they proceed in like manner as before from the church to the castle-hall or court, where the steward or his deputy, taketh his place, assisted by the bayliff or his deputy,§ the king of the minstrels sitting

* PLOT'S HISTORY OF STAFFORDSHIRE, p. 437. folio, Oxford, 1686.

† FRAGMENTA ANTIQUITATIS, p. 171. 8vo. London, 1679.

‡ FRAGMENTA ANTIQUITATIS. Edited by Beckwith, p. 532. 4to. London, 1815.

§ Blount calls him the *woodmaster* in his account of the custom. See FRAGMENTA ANTIQUITATIS, p. 172, 12mo., London, 1679.

between them, who is to oversee that every minstrel dwelling within the honour and making default shall be presented and amerced, which that he may the better doe, an Oyes is then made by one of the officers, being a minstrel, three times, giving notice by direction from the steward to all manner of minstrels dwelling within the honour of Tutbury, viz.: within the counties of Stafford, Darby, Nottingham, Leicester, and Warwick, owing suit and service to his Majesties court of music here holden at this day that every man draw near and give his attendance upon pain and peril that may otherwise ensue, and that if any man will be assigned of suit or plea, he or they should come in, and they should be heard. Then all the musicians being called over by a court-roll, two juries are impannelled, out of 24 of the sufficientest of them, 12 for Staffordshire, and 12 for the other counties; whose names being delivered in court to the steward, and called over, and appearing to be full juries, the foreman of each is first sworn, and then the residue as is usual in other courts, upon the holy Evangelists.

"Then to move them the better to mind their duties to the king and their own good the steward proceeds to give them their charge; first commending to their consideration the original of all musick, both wind and string music, the antiquity and excellency of both, setting forth the force of it upon the affections by divers examples; how the use of it has always been allowed (as is plain from Holy Writ) in praising and glorifying God; and the skill in it always esteemed so considerable that it is still accounted in the schooles one of the liberal arts, and allowed in all Godly Christian commonwealths; where by the way he commonly takes notice of the statute, which reckons some musicians amongst vagabonds and rogues, giving them to understand that such societies as theirs, thus legally founded and govern'd by laws, are by no means

intended by that statute, for which reason the minstrells belonging to the manor of Dutton in the county palatine of Chester are expressly excepted in that act. Exhorting them upon this account (to preserve their reputation) to be very carefull to make choise of such men to be officers amongst them, as fear God, are of good life and conversation, and have knowledge and skill in the practise of their art. Which charge being ended the jurors proceed to the election of the said officers, the king being to be chosen out of the 4 stewards of the preceding year, and one year out of Staffordshire and another out of Darbyshire interchangeably; and the 4 stewards, two of them out of Staffordshire, and two out of Darbyshire; 3 being chosen by the jurors, and the fourth by him that keeps the court, and the deputy steward or clerk.

The jurors departing the court for this purpose, leave the steward with his assistants still in their places, who in the mean time make themselves merry with a banquet, and a noise* of musicians playing to them, the old king still sitting between the steward and bayliff as before;

* Not to appropriate Gifford's merits to myself, by borrowing his information and clothing it in other words to hide the theft, after the manner established by some of our modern editors of old plays, I give a note of his upon this term, "*noise*," as I find it in his excellent edition of Ben Jonson.—"This term, which occurs perpetually in our old dramatists, means a *company* or *concert*. In Jonson's days they (fidlers) sedulously attended taverns, ordinaries, &c., and seem to have been very importunate for admission to the guests. They usually consisted of three, and took their name from the leader of their little band. Thus we hear of 'Mr. Sneak's *noise*,' 'Mr. Creek's *noise*,' and in Cartwright of 'Mr. Spindle's *noise*.' These names are probably the invention of Shakespeare and the rest; but they prove the existence of the custom. When the term went out of use I can not tell; but it was familiar in Dryden's time, who has it in his *Wild Gallant* and elsewhere—'I hear him coming and a whole noise of fidlers at his heels.'—*Maiden Queen*."—GIFFORD'S BEN JONSON, vol. iii., p. 402.

but returning again after a competent time, they present first their chiefest officer by the name of their *King*; then the old king arising from his place, delivereth him a little white wand in token of his sovereignty, and then taking a cup filled with wine drinketh to him, wishing him all joy and prosperity in his office. In like manner doe the old stewards to the new; and then the old king riseth, and the new taketh his place, and so doe the new stewards of the old, who have full power and authority, by virtue of the king's stewards warrant, directed from the said court, to levy and distrain in any city, town corporate, or in any place within the king's dominions, all such fines and amercements as are inflicted by the said juries that day upon any minstrells for his or their offences committed in the breach of any of their ancient orders, made for the good rule and government of the said society. For which said fines and amercements so distrained, or otherwise peaceably collected, the said stewards are accountable at every audit; one moyety of them going to the king's majesty, and the others the said stewards have for their own use."—Thus far Dr. Plot.

After enjoying the dinner prepared for them, the minstrels went anciently to the abbey gate, now a little barn by the town side, in expectance of the bull which was then turned out in the manner already mentioned. In time however, other changes took place, and, in lieu of the old mode of catching the bull, the young men of Staffordshire and Derbyshire contended, with cudgels about a yard long, to drive the bull into their respective counties, in which humane diversion many heads would occasionally get broken. The king of the minstrels and the bailiff also compounded, the bailiff giving his musical majesty five nobles in lieu of his right to the bull, which he then sent to the Earl of Devon's manor at Hardwick to be fed and given to the poor at Christmas. This

amusement, if it indeed deserves the name, was finally abolished by the Duke of Devonshire in 1778 at the desire of the inhabitants of Tutbury, on account of the outrages to which it gave occasion."*

It appears that a custom under the same name—that is, *Bull-running*—prevailed at the town of Stamford, in Lincolnshire, but with a very different origin and object. Richard Butcher, the historian of Stamford upon a small scale, speaks of it in no very measured terms, and, judging from the nature of such sports in general, there is little reason to suppose that he exaggerates in his narrative.

"The second sport, though more ancient than the former,† yet more beast-like then any. It is their bull-running, a sport of no pleasure except to such as take a pleasure in beastlinesse and mischief. It is performed just the day six weekes before Christmas. The butchers of the town at their own charge against the time provide the wildest bull they can get. This bull over night is had in to some stable or barn belonging to the alderman. The next morning proclamation is made by the common bell-man of the town, round about the same, that each one shut up their shop doores and gates, and that none upon payne of imprisonment offer to doe any violence to strangers, for the preventing whereof (the town being a great thoroughfare, and then being in terme-time) a gard is appointed for the passing of travellers through the same without hurt; that none have any iron upon their bull-clubs, or other staffe, which they pursue the bull with. Which proclamation made and the gates all shut up, the bull is turned out of the alder-

* See a letter signed A. W. in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for July, 1782, vol. iii, p. 336.

† He had been speaking just before of horse-racing, which he dignifies with the name of "a sport savouring of manhood and gentry."

man's house; and then hivie-skivie tag and rag, men, and children, of all sorts and sizes, with all the dogs in the town, promiscuously running after him with their bull-clubs, spattering dirt in each other's faces that one would think them to be so many furies started out of hell for the punishment of Cerberus; and, which is the greater shame, I have seen both senatores majorū gentiū, et matrones de eodem gradu, follow this bulling business.

"I can say no more of it, but only to set forth the antiquity thereof. As the tradition goes, William, Earle Warren, the first Lord of this town in the time of K. John standing upon his castle walls in Stamford, viewing the faire prospect of the river and medowes under the same, saw two bulls fighting for one cow. A butcher of the town, the owner of one of these bulls, with a great mastiffe dog accidentally coming by, set his dog upon his owne bull, who forced the same bull up into the towne, which no sooner was come within the same but all the butchers' dogs, both great and small, followed in the pursuit of the bull, which, by this time made starke mad with the noise of the people and the fiercenesse of the dogs, ran over man, woman, and child that stood in his way. This caused all the butchers and others in the town to rise up as it were in a tumult, making such a hideous noise that the sound thereof came into the castle into the eares of Earle Warren, who presently thereupon mounted on horseback, rid into the town to see the businesse, which then appearing to his humour very delightful, he gave all those medowes, in which the two bulls were at the first found fighting (which we now call the Castle Medowes) perpetually as a common to the butchers of the town (after the first grasse is eaten) to keep their cattle in till the time of slaughter; upon this condition—that as upon that day on which this sport first began, which was (as I said before) that day six weekes

before Christmas, the butchers of the town should from time to time yearly for ever find a mad bull for the continuance of that sport."*

It is from this circumstance that the old proverb arose of, "as mad as the baiting bull at Stamford."

* "*The Survey and Antiquitie of the Towne of Stamford.*" By Richard Butcher, chap. x., p. 39, 4to. London, 1646.

NATURAL PHENOMENA.

HELM-WIND.—HELM-BAR. The heights of Cross Fell are supposed to affect the weather in a manner somewhat similar to what the inhabitants of the Malabar and Coromandel coasts experience; and what are called in this country (Cumberland) *Shedding-winds* generally blow on the contrary signs of Cross-Fell, from opposite quarters to the *Helm-winds*; and the storms, which rake the country on one side of the mountain, seldom affect the other. Upon the summit of this lofty ridge of mountains there frequently hangs a vast volume of clouds, in a sullen and drowsy state, having little movement; this heavy collection of vapours often extends several miles in length, and dips itself from the summit, half way down to the base of those eminences; and frequently at the same time the other mountains in view are clear of mist and show no signs of rain. This *helm*, or cloud, exhibits an awful and solemn appearance, tinged with white by the sun's rays that strike the upper part, and spreads a gloom below over the inferior parts of the mountain, like the shadows of night. When this collection of vapour first begins to gather on the hills, there is to be observed hanging about it a black strip of cloud, continually flying off, and fed from the white part which is the real *helm*; this strip is called the *helm-bar*, as during its appearance the winds are thought to be resisted by it; for on its

dispersion they rage vehemently upon the vallies beneath. The direction of the *helm-bar* is parallel to that part of the main cloud or collection of vapour, that is tinged with white by being struck with the sun's rays; the *bar* appears in continual agitation, as boiling, or struggling with contrary blasts; whilst the *helm* all this time keeps a motionless station. When the *bar* is dispersed, the winds that issue from the *helm* are sometimes extremely violent; but that force seems to be in proportion to the real current of the winds, which blow at a distance from the mountains, and which are frequently in a contrary direction, and then the *helm-wind* does not extend above two or three miles: without these impediments it seldom sweeps over a larger track than twelve miles, perhaps from the mere resistance of the lower atmosphere. It is remarkable that at the base of the mountain the blasts are much less violent than in the middle region; and yet the hurricane is sometimes impetuous even there, bearing every thing before it, when at the distance of a few miles there is a dead calm and a sunny sky. The spring is most favourable to this phenomenon; the *helm-wind* will sometimes blow for a fortnight 'till the air in the lower regions, warmed before by the influence of the sun, is thereby rendered piercing cold.*

Ritson's account of this phenomenon is yet more graphic and interesting.†

"As I am now to speak of the *Helm-wind*, it may be necessary for the sake of those readers, who have not seen any thing of the kind, to premise that Cross-Fells is one continued ridge, stretching without any branches, or even subject to mountains, except two or three conical hills

* *Hutchinson's Cumberland*, vol. i. p. 266.

† In the *Introduction* to A SURVEY OF THE LAKES, by *James Clarke*. folio. London, 1787.

called *Pikes*, from the N.N.W. to the S.S.E. from the neighbourhood of Gillsland almost to Kirkby-Steven, that is above 40 miles. Its direction is nearly in a right line, and the height of its different parts not very unequal; but is in general such that some of its more eminent parts are exceeded in altitude by few hills in Britain, and perhaps not by any in England. As it rises in the interior part of the country, it has in some degree an effect on the weather on its different sides similar to that which is experienced by the inhabitants of the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, occasioned by the mountainous range that is extended from Cape Comorin along the peninsula of Indus; for what are called SHEDDING WINDS generally blow on the contrary sides of this mountain from opposite quarters; also the rains, which come from the Atlantic, and those which drive from the German Ocean, seldom extend with any great power beyond its summits, being sometimes entirely spent and exhausted upon them; so that Northumberland and the corresponding parts of Cumberland, however similar in many respects, may in this be considered as different climates.

"Upon the upper part of this lofty ridge often rests, in dry and sunny weather, a prodigious wreath of clouds, involving its whole extent, and reaching sometimes more and sometimes less than half way from its summit to its base; at this time the other mountains in different quarters are for the most part clear of mist, nor are there any signs of rain. This mighty collection of vapour exhibits an appearance uncommonly grand and solemn; whether we regard its different shades descending from that gleaming whiteness, with which the sun tinges the volumes of its upper surface, to that indiscriminate gloominess which to the distant spectator renders the plains beneath almost invisible; or the tranquillity which it preserves amidst the commotions issuing from it, and the

currents of air, which must be supposed to prevail in the higher regions of the atmosphere. Or again, if we consider its vast bulk, which notwithstanding still represents the form of the mountain, (corresponding with its elevations and depressions) so that the boldest head of Cross-Fell, which is somewhat to the northward of the middle part of its range, is still distinguishable even in its *Helm*; for such is the name of that heap of vapour from whence the wind, of which we are treating, issues. When this heap first gathers upon the hill, there is seen above it a black streak of cloud continually flying off, and continually fed from the white one, which is called the real *Helm*; this is called the *Helm-bar*, from its being supposed to bar or obstruct the winds that burst forth upon the vallies beneath as soon as it wholly vanishes; its direction is parallel to that of the white cloud, and it seems in continual motion as if boiling, or at least agitated by a violent wind; and indeed the wind, which really does follow its removal, is sometimes prodigiously violent, varying with respect to the extent of territory which it affects in proportion to the force and direction of what I shall here call the Real Winds. Sometimes when these are its direct antagonists, and in full force, it does not reach farther than two or three miles; nor do I know that even without such impediment it ever extends farther than thirteen or fourteen, being interrupted in its progress by the vis inertiæ of the air at large, or by some cause arising from the impulse of contrary currents. However, though it always bears a certain proportion to the force and direction of the real winds, its own intrinsic force is not always equal, nor is it found so even at the foot of the hill, where, on account of the shortness of its course, the action of contrary currents or the resistance of the air can not be supposed to have had any material effect in changing the degree of its power, or of interrupting its progress. It may, however,

be remembered as a truth, that near the base of the mountain it is at times excessively strong, bearing almost every thing before it, though at a distance of a very few miles not felt at all.

"Such is the Helm-Wind generated in that enormous cloud, which like a helmet covers the summit of Cross Fell. It is here particularly favoured by circumstances; for on one side there is a plain of above thirty miles in breadth in some places, and on the other no hills to rival that from whence it comes. This wind is not much taken notice of in natural history; yet the Dutch by the iron chains, with which they are obliged to moor their ships at the Cape of Good Hope, bear ample testimony to the fury of such an one. It hath been met with by late voyagers in the South Seas; it is said to have been felt in the straits of Gibraltar; and I doubt not but mariners and travellers have found it in many other places, though they may not have observed it with care, or may have given it different names. I apprehend that the land-breeze in the West Indies, though less violent and more regular, is similar to it; and I doubt not that there may be a helm-wind from almost every hill covered with a cloud in certain kinds of weather, though the resistance of similar winds from neighbouring hills may prevent its being taken notice of.

"It may be remarked of this wind, that it generally blows from Cross Fell longest in the spring, when the sun has somewhat warmed the air beneath, and does not cease till it has effectually cooled it. Thus it sometimes continues for a fortnight or three weeks, which I consider as a peculiarity of the Helm-wind of Cross-Fell."

"THE BOTTOM-WIND* has its name from being supposed formerly by the country people to arise from the bottom of those lakes which are situated amongst mountains, for

* This is extracted from the same author.

I know of none in a level country troubled with it. It is indeed puzzling enough to conceive why in a day when hardly a single breeze is a-stir, the surface of a lake, which is as smooth as a mirror, should without any apparent cause begin to be in motion, which in less than an hour rises to a considerable swell, with a direction sometimes to one quarter and sometimes to another; yet such is really the case; and similar appearances have been observed in some of the Alpine Lakes, though it has been imputed as a lie to Buchanan that he tells of a similar phenomenon being frequent in the lake of Lenox."

"The Bosom Wind—is quite a different affair, and takes place wherever one object in the direction of the wind overlooks another; or universally where any thing breaks the current of the air that would otherwise impinge directly on the objects beyond it. This is particularly the case where large rocks screen things below them from the direct force of the wind, yet subject them to what is called a *Bosom Wind*. Near the sources of the Caldew is a valley called Swineside, never visited by the rays of the sun during the winter months. On the northern side of the hill which overshadows it in this manner, and at a considerable height above the valley, is a pretty large bason of water, called Booth-scale Tarn, three fourths of which are surrounded by an exceedingly steep heath, or by entire rocks; and the other fourth, being the side right above the valley, gives an outlet to the water. A road leads from the low grounds to the lake, and from the outlet winds about half round it, gradually ascending to some rocks where are slate quarries, on account of which it was first made; near these quarries the road is a considerable height above the lake, and the perpendicular heights of the hill above it can not be less than four hundred yards; on the other side of this height the descent is at an angle of perhaps fifty degrees, but on this

at a much greater. On a wet and windy day in Autumn I once took a ride with two companions to this lake; the wind blew directly over the height which I mentioned, not striking upon us except in uncertain puffs, on account of the intervention of the hill; that is, the wind, impinging on the inclined plane of the other side of the hill, was compelled towards the summit of it in an oblique direction, its powers continually increasing, and itself being more and more condensed by the addition of fresh air pressing on its course in a similar diverted manner. This current at the summit met with the regular wind, and, after striking violently on the mass of air moving in higher regions, was, by means of a combination of the weight and motion of that air, at last repelled into the tranquil and stagnant air beneath, where there was not a resistance from motion, and thus occasioned the wind of which I am speaking. It was this wind, which amused me very much at that time; I was looking at the lake beneath, and saw it grow black near the centre; the spot, where this first appeared, changed directly into a livid appearance by being contrasted with the rest of the water, through which, from this spot, as a fixed point, rolled concentric circles of waves towards the circumference in a tumultuous manner, whilst the centre itself remained quite smooth and undisturbed. The wind, which produced this agitation, immediately after ascended the sides of the bason, and affected us with a very great force; I could also observe the heath on the other sides of the pool shook by the same, and in the same main direction from a centre, very forcibly. Such were the effects that I observed. I am told, however, that others have known a wind of the same kind in dry weather snatch the water out of the pool, and scatter it as spray through the whole of this imprisoned space."

KELDS.—"There is an appearance on the surface of

lakes, which we can not account for on any principle, either of optics or perspective. When there is no apparent cause in the sky, the water will sometimes appear dappled with large spots of shades. It is possible these patches may have connexion with the bottom of the lake, as naturalists suppose the shining parts of the sea are occasioned by the spawn of fish; but this is more probable that in some way they are connected with the sky, as they are generally in the country esteemed to be a *weather-gage.* The people will often say, it will be no hay-day to-day, the lake is full of shades! I myself never saw this appearance, or I might be able to give a better account of it; but I have heard it so often taken notice of, that I suppose there is at least some ground for the observation. Though after all, I think it probable these shades may be owing only to floating clouds. I have often, says Mr. Locke, remarked this appearance on the lake of Geneva, without being able to assign a satisfactory reason; and the people of the country, I mean the philosophic part of them, are equally at a loss. If the spots were the shadow of a passing cloud, a vapour dense enough to interrupt the rays of the sun would certainly when suspended in a clear sky be visible, and immediately account for the appearance. But perhaps the effect may be derived from a cause diametrically opposite to the *density* of vapour. Let us suppose a partial *rareness* of the vapours dissolved in the atmosphere just above the spot, while every other part of the sky sheds light, by the reverberation of rays on the surface of the lake, that part sheds but little, and leaves a corresponding spot on the water, which compared with the splendour of the surrounding parts appears dark. The state of the sky may very well be considered as a *weather-gage,* because partial rarefactions destroy the equilibrium of the air.

"The shades are here (*Ullswater* in Cumberland) called *Kelds,* probably from the Saxon or British word *keld,* sig-

nifying a *spring* or fountain; and the particular spots, which are longest in freezing over, are thus denominated. We have generally observed the shades in a morning, sometimes succeeded by rain, and always by wind from a southerly point; there is a slight current of air, a gentle swelling of the surface, yet the water not ruffled, but crisped over with a gentle breeze; the *keld* appears dark, while the other parts are more silvery; at a distance, though the sun be obscured, the appearance continues invariably the same. It looks as if oil had been poured on the water; and prismatic colours are visible on the surface of the *keld*, which varies in diameter in various places, and at different times, from sixty to two hundred yards, is sometimes nearly circular, at others angular. A little oil poured upon the lake from a point of land will extend and calm the surface to a much greater distance than would at first be imagined.... Early on a calm sunny morning, the bottom of the lake may be seen at the depth of about twelve yards, and the fishes may be discovered as they play in shoals. Something like a glory, or faint halo, with a slight mixture of prismatic colours, may be observed round the head of a person, when the exhalation is great on a hot sunny day, particularly if leaning over the side of the boat.*"

Primroses and poppies.—In the whole parish of Bishopstone, near Swindon, in Wiltshire, there never has been a primrose seen to grow, though in the neighbouring parishes they abound. A stream parts Bishopstone from Hinton, and on the side of the latter primroses are to be seen by thousands. The same singularity prevails with regard to poppies in a certain district. About East Grinstead, in Sussex, there are no corn poppies, while a few miles both east and west, and particularly in Surrey—the fields are quite red with them all the summer.

* This account of the *Kelds* is from Hutchinson's Cumberland, but he himself in the first part quotes from Gilpin.

THE MONTHS—SEPTEMBER.

This month has retained its Latin name without the change of a single letter. By the Romans it was so called as being the seventh month from March,* and with them too it remained equally unaltered except for a short time in the reign of Domitian, when the tyrant, after two triumphs, having assumed the title of Germanicus, thought proper to give his new appellation to September, while he honoured October with his former name. This how-

* "Dehinc quintus, *Quintilis;* et sic deinceps usque ad Decembrem a numero." Varro de Lingua Latina, lib. v. p. 54, 8vo. Paris, 1573.

Hone has some notable information on the derivation of the Latin word, September. He tells us that the word "is compounded of *septem*, seven, and *imber*, a shower of rain, from the rainy season usually commencing at this period of the year." This, I presume, he got in some way from Priscian or Isidore, both of whom have lent it the sanction of their authority. But with all due deference both for the grammarian and the saint, such a derivation is a palpable absurdity. As Gerard Vossius well observes, and as indeed must occur to every one of the least judgment, "hoc si esset, *Octimber* diceretur"—if this were the case, we should say *Octimber*, and not October. The truth seems to be that the suffix, *ber*, which occurs in a multitude of Latin words, is either a mere intensitive, or else it is some Teutonic root, of which we have long since lost the meaning.

ever did not last long. He was shortly after murdered, when the unlucky title was erased from every brass and stone, and September restored to its birth-right, the caution of succeeding princes preventing them from any interference to retain a name so ominous.*

By the Anglo-Saxons this month was called *Gerstmonath*, *Haligemonath*. The first of these appellations it had, as Verstegan tells us, "for that barley, which that moneth commonly yeelded, was anciently called *Gerst*, the name of barley being given unto it by reason of the drink therewith made, called beer; and from beerlegh it came to be *berlegh*, and from *berlegh* to *barley*. So in like manner *beerheym*,—to wit, the overdecking or covering of beer,—came to be called *berham*, and afterwards *barm*, having since gotten I wot not how many names besides."†

The name of *Haligemonath*, i.e. *holy month*, was given to it, according to a Saxon menology in Wanley's addition to Hickes, "for that our forefathers, the while they heathens were, in this month celebrated their *devil-gild*." These *devil-gilds* (deofol-gild) were the sacrificial gilds of heathenism, and to them, according to Wilda and Lappenberg, may be traced the origin of the municipal system

* These facts are mentioned by Macrobius and Suetonius. "Mensis September principalem suam retinet appellationem, quem Germanici appellatione, Octobrem verò suo nomine, Domitianus invaserat. Sed ubi infaustum vocabulum ex omni ære vel saxo placuit eradi, menses quoque usurpatione tyrannicæ appellationis exuti sunt. Cautio postea principum cæterorum diri ominis infausta vitantium mensibus a Septembri usque ad Decembrem prisca nomina reservavit."—*Macrobii Saturnal.* lib. i. cap. 12. What Seutonius says is much to the same effect: "Post autem duos triumphos, Germanici cognomine assumto, Septembrem mensem et Octobrem ex appellationibus suis Germanicum Domitianumque transnominavit, quod altero suscepisset imperium, altero natus esset."—*C. Suetonii Domitianus*, s. 13, p. 407, vol. ii. 8vo. Parisiis, 1828.

† *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, p. 49, 12mo. London, 1655.

of the Saxons, for they seem to have combined the double character of a feast and of a court-day for settling disputes and trying offences, the priests exercising the criminal jurisdiction and lending it the consecration of religion. Hence the Christians condemned them under the name of devil-gilds, and would fain have forbidden the people from feasting in honour of the demons,* as they chose to term it; but amongst the German race it was a difficult matter to put them down altogether.†

The Flora and garden of this month are somewhat barren when compared with those of its predecessors, yet still they are not without interest. The *Mushroom* tribe are now very numerous, constituting the first link in the great chain of vegetable life, which connects organized bodies with inorganic matter. Their seeds are so light as to be easily dispersed by the air, and fasten on every kind of decaying matter. The kinds most popularly known are the *Truffle*, the *Morel*, and the *Mushroom*—so called par excellence—which is used for making catchup; but these fungi appear in a variety of shapes; the *Boleti*,

* "Si quis in honorem dæmonum comederit," &c. Leg. Withredi, 12, 13.—Canuti Leges, Eccl. 5. Capitulare de Part. Saxon. c. 21.

† "Die Anfänge des Sächsischen Städt-wesens sind auf die Gilden zu heidnischen Opfern zurückzuführen. Diese Festen waren mit den Gerichts-und-Mark-tagen verknüpft und konnten auf der dem Feste folgenden Morgensprache (Morgenspæce) durch den den Priestern zustehenden Blutbann häufig einen sehr ernsten Charakter annehmen. Das gemeinschaftliche Mahl, welches einen gar wichtigen Anfangspunct vieler politischen Einrichtungen gebildet hat, erhielt die Weihe des religiosen Cultus, welcher in den später erhaltenen Trinksprüchen der Angelsachsen noch wiedererkannt werden möchte. Jene Teufelsgilden, wie die Christliche Gesetzgebung sie nannte, ganz zu unterdrücken war in den germanischen Ländern sehr schwer, und es musste nicht für den Cultus selbst, sondern auch für die mit demselben, mit grösserer oder geringerer Willkührlichkeit, verknüpften Einrichtungen ein Ersatz dargeboten werden."—*Lappenberg's Geschichte von England.* Erster Band, s. 609.

the *Puff-Balls*, the *Blight* and *Smut* of wheat, the tinging matter of the celebrated *Northern Red Snow*, all belong to the same class; and, so far from being of one uniform dull colour, some of them present the brightest hues in the vegetable kingdom, rivalling in grace and brilliance even the rose and the lily.

If we turn to the Flora of the month, we shall find that great changes have taken place. The scarlet berries of the Mezereon, which appeared in July, and whose pink flowers ornamented the early spring, now fall off, leaving nothing on the shrub but the leaves. Towards the end of this month the *Michaelmas Daisy*,—Aster Tradescanti—often begins to blow, and continues throughout the next month, or even through a part of November. This daisy would seem to be an especial favourite with the bees, for when the weather is at all clear and open they may be seen hanging about it in numbers. Yet even now there is no want of other flowers, suited to their tastes and habits. The *Sunflower*,* to which they are particularly partial, is abundant, while *Nasturtiums*, *Guernsey Lilies*, *China Asters*, *Marigolds*, that close their flowers against rain,† *Sweet-Peas*, *Mignionette*, *Golden Rods*, *Stocks*, *Tangier Peas*, *Holy-hocks*, and *Saffron*, a species of crocus, are also in profusion. Amongst the maritime plants may be named the *Marsh Glasswort*, and the *Sea-Stork's Bill*, on sandy shores; and the *Officinal Marshmallow*, in salt marshes.

Other symptoms of Autumn show themselves in the full ripening of the pears and apples, and in the commencing of the cider vintage, if the word, vintage, can with propriety be so applied. The grapes, which had been ripe a month ago in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, as well as the south of

* At one time the *Sunflower* was also named *Marygold*; and the *Marygold* was termed *Sunflower*.

† This is more particularly the case with the *Rainy Marigold*, or *Calendula Pluvialis*.

France and Germany, now begin to ripen in the north of France, Flanders, and England. Walnuts too are in season.

But the most striking symptom of the decline of the year is to be found in the diminished number of the swallows and martins, who for some time past have been migrating to a more genial climate, and have left only a few stragglers behind. The oak and beach-tree shed their nuts, the leaves begin to change their colour, and the mornings as well as evenings are apt to be chill and foggy. The stone-curlew clamours, wood-owls hoot, the ring-ousels re-appear upon the scene, the saffron butterfly is on the wing, hares congregate, and, towards the end of the month, the blackbird, thrush, and wood-lark, may again be heard. Not unfrequently the ground is covered with swarms of spider-webs,—gossamers as they are called—or they may be seen extended from shrub to shrub, or floating in the air. This is caused by the multitude of spiders incident to the season, who, when they wish to change their places, have the power of shooting forth several long threads, to which they attach themselves, and are thus borne along through the air, till they choose to descend, when they coil up their threads and come lightly to the ground. Stoats and weasels too at this season are very active in their depredations upon the poultry yard.

In the early part of this month the herrings pay their annual visit to the Eastern and Western parts of our coast, and the great fishery commences.

Bartholomew Fair; *September* 3.—This fair dates so far back as the time of Henry the Second, who granted to the Priory of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield,* "the pri-

* Smithfield would seem to have been so called from its being a *smethe*, or smooth ground: "Est ibi," says Fitz-Stephens, "extra unam portarum statim in suburbio quidam *planus campus re et nomine*."—There is without one of the city gates immediately in the sub-

vilege of a fair to be kept yearly at Bartholomew-tide for three days; to wit, the eve, the day, and the next morrow. To the which the clothiers of England, and the drapers of London repaired; and had their booths and standings within the churchyard of this Priory, closed in with walls and gates, locked every night, and watched for safety of men's goods and wares. A Court of *Pie-powder* † was daily

urbs a certain field *smooth* both in name and reality.—VITA SANCTI THOMÆ ARCH. ET MARTYR. A WILIELMO FILIO STEPHANI, (*i. e. Fitz Stephens*), p. 67, 4to. London, 1772. In another part he calls it *suburbana planities*, and the commentator upon the text observes that *Smith* signifies *smooth*, from the Saxon *Smeth*. In Minshew moreover we find an indirect indication of *smeth* and smooth being synonymous. He says, "*Smeth* or *Smootherie*, a medicine or physical ointment to take away haire."

At a yet earlier period, Smithfield was called the *Elms;* or at least that Western portion of it, which lay between the *Horsepool* and *Turnmill Brook*, known also under the name of the River of the Wells. But the *Pool* and the *Brook* were eventually doomed to vanish before the rage for building, and at length, as Stow observes in a tone of no little regret, it had so increased that it left not a single tree standing, though it was to the many elms that the place had originally owed its appellation. But no site in all London has undergone greater vicissitudes; at one time it was the field of justs and tournaments; then it was "the place of execution for offenders;" (*Stow, Farringdon Ward Without;*) and then it was a market for cattle.

† The Pie-powder Court was established for the purpose of suing for debts and contracts relative to the fair. It was an exceedingly summary court of justice, for the party might be arrested, the cause tried, and judgment given in less than an hour. Some wise-acres have derived the word from the dusty feet of the suitors, or, as Sir Edward Coke says, "because justice is there done as speedily as dust can fall from the feet." Sir Edward might have been a good lawyer, but he was a bad philologist. A *pied puldreux*,—in Latin *pedo-pulverosus*,—means a pedlar, or trafficker in small wares, and the court was a pedlar's court. The whole matter is so well explained by Skene, that we need go no farther. "*Pede-Pulverosus*, ane French word, *pied puldreux*, *Dustie-fute*, or an *vagabound*, speciallie ane merchand, or *cremar*" (cremar, from the German Krämer, a dealer, trader,) "quha hes na certaine dwelling-place, quhair the dust may be dicht

held during the fair for debts and contracts. But now, notwithstanding all proclamations of the prince, and also the act of parliament, in place of booths within this churchyard, (only letten out in the fair time, and closed up all the year after), be many large houses builded; and the north wall towards Long Lane, being taken down, a number of tenements are there erected for such as will give great rents."*

Unluckily for both parties, the custos of the city had a dispute with the Prior of St. Bartholomew in 1295, about the customs and benefits of the fair, which coming to the ears of the King, that royal lion, Edward the First, acted after the manner of others of his kind, and issued his brief, laying claim to the city's moiety, on the score that the city's privileges were forfeited and in his hand. Stow however does not give us the issue of this contest, though, in another part of the same work † he says "the Earl of Warwick and Holland is concerned in the toll gathered, the three first days in the fair, being a penny for every

from his feet or schone. To quhom justice suld be summarlie ministred within three flowinges and ebbings of the see. Ane pedder is called ane merchōd, or cremar, quha beirs ane pack or creame" (*creame*, from the German *Kram*, i. e. wares, commodities,) "upon his bak, quha are called beirares of the *puddill* be (i. e. by) the Scottesmen in the realme of Polonia, quhair I saw an greate multitude in the town of Cracowia anno Dom. 1569." Skene, DE VERBORUM SIGNIFICATIONE, given at the end of his "*Lawes and Actes*," folio, Edinburgh, 1597.

The only fault to be found with this explanation is in the little vagary about pedlars being called *dusty-foots*, because they had no home to wipe their feet in; the epithet is so exceedingly applicable to a man who tramps about dusty roads all day long as to leave no room for such absurdities. In addition to this, we have Roquefort in his *Glossaire de la Langue Romaine* explaining "PIE POUDREUX, ETRANGER, marchand forain, qui court les foires."

* STOW'S SURVEY, vol. i.—*Faringdon Ward Without.*—Bartholomew Fair, p. 235, fol. Lond. 1720.

† P. 235.

burthen of goods brought in or carried out; and to that end there are persons that stand at all the entrances into the fair; but they are of late years grown so nimble, that these blades will extort a penny if one hath but a little bundle under one's arms, and nothing related to the fair."

According to the original grant, the fair was to last for three days only; but those who let the booths, and those who hired them, being equally interested in the abuse, the time was eventually extended to fourteen days, the first three being devoted exclusively to buying and selling cloth, stuffs, leather, pewter, live cattle, and other commodities, while the rest of the fair-time was in a great measure given up to sports and amusements adapted to the populace, such as drolls, farces, rope-dancing, feats of activity, wonderful and monstrous creatures, wild beasts, giants, dwarfs, &c. But in the course of time this led to such scenes of riot and debauchery, that at a Court of Common Council in June, 1708, the duration of the fair was limited to three days, and to the selling of merchandizes. The latter prohibition however, as respected the sports, seem very soon to have been disregarded, and not only so, but of late years the original object of the fair, the sale of cloth, cattle, and other commodities has been totally lost sight of and forgotten. In fact it differs from no country fairs except in its superior magnitude and profligacy.*

* Those, who wish for a minute account of the various amusements of the fair in modern times will do well to consult Hone's *Every Day Book*. Whatever he could see with his own eyes, and which did not require the aid of learning to develope it, Hone was sure to narrate with the utmost fidelity. His picture of Bartholomew Fair as he saw it in 1825, will one day be invaluable to the antiquarian; indeed it is only on such occasions that his book is worth any thing, for his scholarship was of the lowest order, and all the vigour of his mind, joined to an earnest love of truth, could never supply the original defects of education.

NATIVITY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY, *September* 8. —The time when this festival was first established, is uncertain,* though the Roman Catholic writers have been anxious to make out its claims to antiquity. Baronius, even while confessing that he knows nothing whatever of its origin,† yet strongly insists upon its belonging to an early period,‡ although he honestly cites Augustine to prove that in his time it was unusual to celebrate any nativity in the churches, except those of Christ and John the Baptist. Baptista Spagnoli, commonly called Baptista Mantuanus, roundly declares that it certainly is not ancient,§ and even Durandus is of the same opinion.‖

It would appear that this festival was instituted somewhere about the year 695 by Pope Sergius. The cause of it is related by Baptista Mantuanus, very much after the fashion of Ovid's Metamorphoses in regard to manner, though it must be admitted that his verse is any thing but Ovidian. Being reduced to plain prose his story amounts to this. A certain Carmelite, who had taken a fancy to turn hermit and live by himself on the top of a high mountain, was surprized one night, while stargazing, to hear the

* "Quonam autem potissimum tempore fuerit ejusmodi solemnitas instituta, nusquā expressum reperi, nec quid certi affirmare ausim." BARONII MARTYROLOGICUM ROMANUM, p. 574.

† "Satis sit constare eam esse antiquam, et tam Latinos quàm Græcos eadem animi pietate concordiique studio permotos eadem die sacratissimum Dei genetricis natalitium solemniter celebrandum esse duxisse." Idem, p. 575.

‡ "Ut autem omnis prorsus ansa tollatur existimandi Augustini tempore hoc festum esse celebratum, adducam de ea re ejusdē Augustini clarissima testimonia, qui Sermone 21 et 22 de Sanct. testatur nullius alterius ortum quam solius Domini nostri Jesu Christi et Sancti Ioannis Baptistæ in ecclesia celebrari consuevisse." Idem. p. 274.

§ "Hunc antiqua diem festis non intulit ætas." *Baptista Mantuanus.* Lib. ix. FAST.

‖ "Sané hoc festum olim non celebrebatur." DURANDI RATIONALE DIVIN. OFFICIORUM, Lib. vii., cap. 28, p. 296. 4to. Venet. 1609.

sound of singing that seemed to come from above him. The next year at the same season, and the next again, the same melody was repeated, whereat being more and more astounded, he fell into a profound fit of musing, but as might be expected to very little purpose. Hereupon some goodhumoured angel took upon himself to enlighten the holy man, and a voice was heard in the air, saying, "the angels are keeping their annual holyday on account of its being the birth-day of the blessed Virgin. Now as you are a Carmelite, it is your business to promulgate this matter to the world and get a festival appointed, for she is partial to your people and in her life-time was exceedingly fond of visiting your houses.*

* "Ex his unus erat super alto vertice montis
Idalii solus degens, qui traxerat istud
Vivendi genus a patribus Carmelidis oræ;
Hic solitus dulces cantus audire quotannis,
Sexto Idus mensis faciunt cui nomina septem,
Id tam dulce melos contemplabatur; et aures,
Ignea dum tacitam volvebant sidera noctem,
Altius arrectas pendentiaque ora tenebat.
Postquam sæpe illos symphoniacos modulatos
Audiit, et summo resonantia carmina cælo,
Grandius incæpit meditari et quærere causam;
Dumque stat admirans, vox est audita per auras
Talia verba ferens; Divi annua festa frequentant,
Et modo, quando rubens terris aurora propinquat,
Incipiunt celebrare diem quo maxima mater
Ædita venturo fecit primordia seclo.
Fac igitur, fac ista palam solennia mundo,
Carmelita, tuum est vulgando incumbere festo;
Namque tuum genus illa fovet, titulumque tenetis
Illius, et patres vivens invisere vestros
Helijæque domos priscas fontemque solebat."

BAPTISTA MANTUANI FASTORUM, Lib. ix.

The following free translation will be found to give a tolerably correct notion of this holy business.

One of these holy men his home had made
On mountain high where pine-trees flung their shade,

This festival was for a long time without either octave or vigil,* 'till the former was instituted by Innocent the Fourth in 1244, and the latter in 1370 by Pope Gregory the Eleventh, and with much more show of reason than is usual in such cases. The cardinals had met in conclave to elect a new pontiff upon the death of Gregory the Ninth, and, not being able for many days to agree upon any one, the people of Rome began to get tired of such trifling, and in consequence handled them rather roughly. In this dilemma the cardinals applied to the Virgin for help, and

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And, still a Carmelite in heart and name,
He led the life of those from whom he came.
But now, oh wonder! as the year went round,
From Heaven above came down so sweet a sound!—
So unlike earthly melody it seem'd,
He almost doubted if he waked or dream'd;
Another year—another—and again,
At the same hour he heard the self-same strain,
'Till wonder ach'd, and rapture sigh'd like pain.
When lo! a voice resounded from above,
In sweetest accents of celestial love,
And thus it spoke—"To-night the angel-state
Prepare their annual feast to celebrate,
And when the morning reddens skies and earth
They hail with song the blessed Virgin's birth.
Do thou then spread these tidings far and wide,
For thine the task; let none its fame divide;
She loves thy name, and while on earth her place
Would visit off the fathers of thy race."

And such things the world at one time not only wrote and believed, but branded those who dared to doubt them as enemies alike to man and God!

* A *vigil* is the fast held the night before a festival, and in a wider sense it signifies the eve of such festival. An *octave* is the eighth day after the same, which in former times was observed with much solemnity; but this too was occasionally used, with a more extended meaning, to signify the whole of the eight days that succeeded any principal feast.

faithfully promised her an octave to her feast, if she would only be good enough to teach them to know their own minds. The offer was graciously accepted, and Pope Cælestine was by her mediation elected; but, as he lived only a few days, the addition of the octave was made by his successor, Pope Innocent the Fourth.*

Holy Rood Day—*Exaltation of the Holy Cross—September* 14.—The meaning of this phrase has been variously explained by the old Roman Catholic writers upon the subject, but none of their explanations are altogether satisfactory. The story which seems most to have prevailed is, that the Emperor Heraclius having defeated Cosroe, king of Persia, and taken from him the real cross previously found by Helena, it was then both really and metaphorically exalted. In substance the tale amounts to this—Cosroe, king of Persia, having subdued all the nations of the east, in the year 615 marched to the conquest of Jerusalem. Here on coming to the holy sepulchre, he took fright—it is not said how or why—and suddenly retreated, but not before he had carried off that

* "Olim etiã non habuit octavam; sed Innocentius, Papa, quartus, eã instituit. Vacante n. Romana ecclesia per obitum Gregor. papæ noni, cardinalibus cõcordare nequeuntibus Romani post plures dies eis iclusis multiplices molestias inferebant, pp quod cardinales reginæ cæli voverunt quòd si ejus meritis concordarẽt et abire liberè possent, octavam suæ nativitatis diu neglectam celebrandam de cætero statuerunt. Sicque ad Cælestinum Papam cõvenerunt et liberati sunt. Sed quia idem Cælestinus vixit solùm 28 diebus non potuit votũ implere, quod postmodũ dictus Innocẽtius ejus successor implevit." *Durandi*, Lib. vii. cap. 28.

This clearly shows, what I have so often insisted upon already, the early corruptions of Christianity, and the constant tendency of its followers to lapse into Pagan observances. Nothing can well be more opposed to the spirit of the Christian faith than votive offerings; the whole of the tenth chapter of *Hebrews* is devoted to their reprobation, but a single passage from this epistle will be enough to set the question at rest—"Sacrifice, and offering, and burnt offering, and offerings for sin thou wouldest not, neither hadst pleasure therein."

portion of the cross which had been left behind by Helena, the mother of Constantine. Infatuated, if not rendered half mad by this long career of success, he now took it into his head that he would be worshipped as a God, and formed a tower of gold and silver inlaid with sparkling gems; in this he set the images of the sun, moon, and stars, caused rain as if he had been a God to be showered down upon the place below from secret pipes and aqueducts, and imitated thunder by means of chariots drawn about in a subterranean cavern. That he might the more enjoy his state of deification, resigning his sceptre to his son, he took up his abode in this tower upon a throne, with the cross in place of the Son on his right hand, and a cock on the left hand for the Holy Ghost, while he himself personated the Father.*—When this

* Exaltatio sc̃te crucis solēniter ab ecclesia celebrāt q̃d in ea fides q̃m plurimum exaltata fuit. Anno ēm d̄ni DCXV, permittēte D̄no flagellari p̄pl'm suū p sevitiā paganōr, Cosdroe, rex prsar̄, oīa regna terrār̄ suo impio subjugavit. Hieŕl'm āut vēiēs a sepulcro d̄ni territ⁹ rediit; sed tn̄ partē sanctē crucis sc̃ta Helena ibidē relīquāt asportavit. Volēs āt ab ōib⁹ coli ut de⁹, turrim ex auro et argēto et iterlucentib⁹ gēmis fecit, et ibidē solis, et lunæ, et stellār̄ imagines collocavit, p subtiles ēt et occultos duct⁹ q̃si de⁹ aquam desup infundebat; et in subterrāneo specu eq̃ q̃drigas trahētes ī circuitu ibāt ut q̃si turrim moverēt et tonitruū simularēt. Filio igr̄ suo regno tradito in tali p̄hano pphan⁹ residet et juxta se orūcē d̄ni collocās appellari ab ōibs se deū jubet. Et, sicut legīt in libro mitrali d̄ offō, ipe Cosdroe, ī throno residēs tanq̃ pr̄, liguū crucis sibi a dextris posuit loco filii, et gallū a sinistris loco spūs sc̃ti; se verò jussit p̄rem noīari. Tūc Eracli⁹ ipator exercitū copiosum collegit et cotra filiū Cosdroe juxta Danubii fluviū dimicaturus advenit. Tādē utrisque p̄ncipib⁹ placūit ut sup pōtē soli confligerent; et qui victor existeret sine dano utriusque exercit⁹ īpiūm usurparet. Decretū ēt exiit ut q̃cumque p'ncipē suū juvare p̄sumerēt crurib⁹ abscisis et brachiis ob h̄ continuò in flumiē mergerēt. At Eracli⁹ totum se deo obtulit, et sc̃te cruci devotione qua potuit cōmēdavit: Ambob⁹ itaq̃ ī conflictu durātib⁹ Eraclio victoriā d̄ūs contulit."—OPUS AUREUM, fol. ciii. folio. Lugduni, 1526. This work is often referred to under the name of HISTORIA LOMBARDICA; it forms the basis of the *Golden Legend* published by Wynkyn de Worde.

came to the ears of the Christian emperor, Heraclius, the latter being offended at such an insult to his own faith, collected a mighty army, and met the son of Cosroes by the Danube, when it was agreed that they should fight it out between themselves upon a bridge, and whichever conquered should have the other's empire. If any one presumed to interfere in favour of either, he was to have his arms and legs cut off and be flung into the river. Heraclius gained the day; but he hardly seems to have acted on the square with his opponent, for he went after Cosroes himself who knew nothing of what had happened, and, finding him as usual upon his throne, insisted that he should turn Christian, and upon his refusal to comply with this demand smote off his head without farther ceremony.

From this and the other like monstrous fables on the subject, differing only in detail, it may be fairly inferred that Cosroes was a bitter opponent of the Christians, whose faith nevertheless in the end prevailed, and hence the phrase—the *exaltation, or triumph, of the cross.*

Another custom peculiar to this day seems to have been the going into the wood a nutting. Thus in the old play of Grim, the Collier of Croydon:

> "This day they say is called Holy-Rood Day,
> And now the youth are all a nutting gone;
> Here are a crew of younkers in this wood
> Well sorted, for each lad hath got his lass." *

STURBRIGE, STERES-BRIGGE, STURBITCH, OR STIRBICH, FAIR; *September* 19.—This fair is held in a field about half a mile square, bounded on the north by the Cam, and on the east by the *Stour*,† a brook running into the river

* GRIM, THE COLLIER OF CROYDON, Act IV. Scene 1.

† "*Stour*, or *Sdour*, is water in the British. *Bech*, or *Beck*, means a little brook or rivulet. On the other side the river is *Waterbech* and *Landbech*, which take their name from the *Carsdike*." Dr. Stukeley's

Grant. From this brook the fair has derived its name, the provincial mode of pronouncing the word, *stir, or stur,* having in all probability led to a corresponding corruption in the mode of writing. The other half of the compound originates in *Bech* or *Beck,* and not in *brigge* or *bridge,* as it is more frequently written, in the efforts of modern wiseacres to be more learned than the vulgar.* Hence it would seem that the more correct way of writing the name is *Stourbech,* as indeed we occasionally find it in old notices of the fair or the place itself. Such a word might easily degenerate amongst careless speakers into Sturbich, Sturbech, or Stirbich.

The origin of this fair has been much disputed; but after all that has been said and written on the subject, nothing has been brought forward that is at all satisfac-

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Medallic History of M. A. V. Carausius. Book i. p. 210. 4to. London. 1757.

We find the same word with a kindred, but not exactly a like, explanation in THE DOOME, by Stephen Batman, published in 1581. "The fishers took a disfigured dyvell in a certain *stoure* (which is a mighty gathering together of waters from some narrow lake of the sea) a horyble monster with a goate's heade, and eies shynyng like fyre, whereupon they were all afrayde and ranne awaye; and that ghoste plunged himselfe under the ise, and running uppe and downe in the *stoure* made a terrible noyse and sound."

* Hone is particularly hard upon those, who are so ignorant as to call it *Sturbitch,* having, as is no uncommon case with him, found a mare's nest. At the same time I ought to mention that Francis Blomefield has favoured us with a very different etymology of the word from that given in the text, and he is a writer, whose opinion ought not to be lightly treated. "Sturbrige," he says, "where the famous Mart or Fair (commonly called Sturbrige Fair) is kept, does not take its name from the bridge over the river of that name, but from the toll or custom that was paid at it for all *steers* and young cattle that passed here." *Collectanea Cantabrigiensia,* p. 171, 4to. Norwich. 1750. I must confess that this appears to me to be exceedingly problematical.

tory. Dr. Stukely* maintains that "the inauguration day of Carausius† was the occasion of this famous Stour bech Fair then held; and which brought the corn from all Cambridgeshire to the corn-boats lying in the river at Chesterton; and a fortnight's time was allowed for that work, which is the continuance of the fair; then the fleet set forwards northward, in the Carsdike.‡ This was not only the origin of Stourbech Fair; but we may trace the progress of the corn-boats the whole length of the Fossa by the same observation of Fairs."

Fuller, the Church historian, on the other hand tells a story how a clothier, having by accident wetted his cloth in the Stour, exposed it on the spot for sale as a damaged article. Finding his market prove a good one, he returned next year with some other of his townsmen, and so on year after year, till at last "hither came a confluence of buyers, sellers, and lookers on, which are the three prin-

* *Medallic History*, vol. i. p. 208.

† Carausius was a native of Britain. Having defeated the fleet of Maximian in our Southern channel under the Isle of Wight, the latter conceded to him the sovereignty of Britain, where he reigned in as full and absolute a manner as Maximian and Diocletian on the continent.

‡ The *Carsdike*, or *Fossa* as it was called in olden times, was an artificial canal formed by the Romans at an early period of their settlement in the island, and even then extended from Peterborough through the whole length of the fenny part of Lincolnshire, till it fell into the Trent at Torksey. From this point it proceeded by natural rivers to York, and thence as far as Alborough by Boroughbridge, the object being to convey corn from the warm and fertile South to the Northern parts of the island, and thus supply provisions to the soldiery stationed along the whole line of defence against the Picts and Scots. But even this prodigious extent of canal—prodigious for the time in which it was made—did not satisfy the active and enterprizing spirit of Carausius; he carried it yet farther in another direction, extending it along the edge of the high country next to the fens of Huntingdon and Cambridgeshire, and joining to the river Cam, from which after a time it starts towards the north.

ciples of a fair. In memorial whereof Kendale men challenge some privilege in that place, annually chusing one of the town to be chief, before whom an antick sword was carried with some mirthful ceremonies disused of late."*

Coles pronounces of this story that it is the most silly of all the silly attempts that have been made to trace the origin of the fair;† without stopping to decide which among the silly is the silliest we may at once reject it without the least necessity for consideration.

The theory of Dr. Stukely is no doubt ingenious, in spite of his evident wish to fix all unclaimed honours on the head of his hero, Carausius; and there is one fact, which, though it may at first sight seem to militate against this notion, will, if more attentively considered, at least show the very great probability of the fair having existed from the earlier periods of our history. In the *Certificatorium* returned upon inquest to King Edward the First, we find distinct and unequivocal proofs that in the time of that monarch it was universally believed upon substantial evidence to have been granted by John to maintain the hospital for lepers, established there and dedicated to Saint Mary Magdalene.‡ Now, I think we may reasonably infer from this circumstance, that the fair had been growing up in silence for many years. The magnitude, which it had reached, and perhaps also the abuses inseparable from so numerous an assembly, would naturally

* Fuller's History of the University of Cambridge, p. 66. Folio, London. 1655.

† See Coles' MSS., vol. 42, in British Museum.

‡ "Item jur' dicunt ad dictum hospitium pertinere quandam feriam ad festum exaltationis Stæ Crucis, quæ durat in Vigilia Stæ Crucis, ceu die Stæ Crucis sequente, infra clausum, cùm (quod) pertinet ad dictum hospitale, quam quidem feriam Dñs Johes, rex predecessor dñi regis qui nunc est, leprosis in dicto hospitali commorantib' ad eor' sustentationem dedit et concessit." No. I.—*Appendix to the History of Sturbridge Fair*, in the BIBLIOTHECA TOPOGRAPHICA BRITANNICA, vol v.

lead those who frequented it to apply for a charter. At all events this seems to me much more probable than that an immense chartered market should at once have started into existence in a dark and barbarous period. Such sudden creations can only take place in an age of peace and high civilization. Of course this proves nothing more in favour of Dr. Stukely's theory than the long pre-existence of the fair.

Stourbetch Fair was at one time not only the greatest fair in England, but even in Europe, if we may trust the generally received opinion. Neither the great marts of Leipsic, nor of Frankfort on the Main, nor of Nuremberg, were at all to be compared with it at the time of which I am writing—namely, in the seventeenth century. It is thus described by a writer in the Cambridge Chronicle for September, 1764, and as this is by far the fullest and most graphic account with which I am acquainted, I can not do better than give it in his own words.

"It is impossible to describe all the parts and circumstances of this fair exactly. The shops are placed in rows like streets, whereof one is called *Garlick Row*,* and here, as in several other streets, are all sorts of traders, who sell by retale, and come chiefly from London. Here may be seen goldsmiths, toymen, braziers, turners, milliners, haberdashers, hatters, mercers, drapers, pewterers, china-warehouses, and in a word all trades that can be found in London; with coffee-houses, taverns, and

* Dr. Stukely says,—I know not how truly,—that the word, *row*, is from the Welsh *rhodio*, to walk, and hence we have the *rows* in the city of Chester. If this be the case, and he was a good scholar though somewhat fanciful, we find the word still lingering in *Paternoster Row*, and a few other places, though it is generally limited to a *line of buildings*. See, however, the MEDALLIC HISTORY, book i., p. 207.

eating-house in great numbers; and all kept in tents and booths. This great street reaches from the road which goes from Cambridge to Newmarket, turning short out of it to the right towards the river and holds in a line, nearly half a mile, quite down to the river side.

"In another street, parallel with the road, are the like rows of booths, but somewhat larger, and more intermingled with wholesale dealers; and one side, passing out of this last street to the left hand, is a great square, framed of the largest booths called the *Duddery*.* The area of this square is from eighty to one hundred yards, where the dealers have room before each booth to take down and open their packs, and to bring in waggons to load and unload.

"This place being peculiar to the wholesale dealers in the woollen manufacture, the booths or tents are of a vast extent, have different apartments, and the quantities of goods they bring are so great, that the insides of them look like so many *Blackwell Halls*,† and are vast warehouses piled with goods to the tops.

**Duddery*,—or *Doddery*, as it is sometimes, but less correctly, written,—has much puzzled the etymologists according to Dr. Stukely, who however explains it as coming from *Dodrefn*, "household stuff, furniture." I know not how this may be; but the meaning is obvious enough; a *duddery* is a place where *duds*, i.e., cloth or stuffs, are sold, and the word is still in use throughout many of our provinces, but still more frequently in a contemptuous sense for rags.

† This is an allusion to the cloth-market formerly held at *Blackwell* or *Blakewell Hall*, in the parish of St. Michael's, Bassishaw, now called Basinghall, in the city of London. It stood at the south end of Basinghall-street, on the west side. The market has for many years ceased to exist, and the place I believe is used for a warehouse, but it is of very ancient date, having originated in the year 1397, when the city of London purchased the ground of Richard the Second for that purpose. The sum given was fifty pounds. Prior to that time, in the reign of Edward the Third, the house had descended

"In this Duddery have been sold 300,000 pounds worth of woollen manufactures in less than a week's time; besides the prodigious trade carried on here by wholesale men from London and all parts of England, who transact their business in their pocket-books, &c., meeting their chapmen from all parts, make up their accounts, receive payment chiefly in bills, and take orders. These, they say, exceed by far the sales of goods actually brought to the fair and delivered in kind, it being frequent for the London wholesalemen to carry back orders from their dealers for 10,000 pounds worth of goods a man; and some, much more. This especially respects those people who deal in heavy goods, as wholesale grocers, salters, braziers, iron-merchants, and the like; but does not exclude the dealers in woollen manufactures, and especially in mercery goods of all sorts, who generally manage their business in this manner.

"Here are clothiers from Halifax, Leeds, Wakefield, and Huddesfeild in Yorkshire; and from Rochdale, Bury, &c. in Lancashire; with vast quantities of Yorkshire

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to Mr. Thomas Bakewell, from whom it acquired its name, subsequently corrupted into Blackwell. At a yet earlier period it was called *Basing's Haugh*, or *Hall*, from the family of the *Bassings*, who built it, an appellation which the word and the street have still retained.

This Hall is a square building, inclosing two courts surrounded with warehouses, and having three spacious entrances for carriages; one opens into Cateaton-street; a second into Basinghall-street; and a third into Guildhall-yard, where is the principal front, and a door-case adorned with two columns of the Doric order, with their entablature and a pediment in which are the royal arms, and, a little lower, those of the city.

The market was held on Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, between eight and twelve in the forenoon, and from two to five in the afternoon.—See for these details *Stow*, *Strype*, *Seamour*, *Northouck*, &c.

cloths, kerseys, fennystons,* cottons, &c., and all sorts of Manchester ware, fustians, and things made of cotton-wool, of which the quantity is so great, that there are near three thousand horse-packs from that side of the country; and these took up a side and a half of the Duddery at least; also a part of a street of booths were (was) taken up with upholster's ware, such as tickings, sackings, Kidderminster stuffs, blankets, quilts, &c.

"In the Duddery was one warehouse or booth, consisting of six apartments, all belonging to a dealer in Norwich stuffs only, which contained goods to the value of 10,000 pounds.

"Western goods had their share here also, and several booths were filled with serges, duroys, shalloons, cantaloons,† Devonshire kerseys, &c. from Exeter, Taunton, Bristol, and other parts west, and some from London also.

"But all this is still outdone, at least in appearance, by two articles, which are the peculiars of this fair, and are not exhibited 'till the other part of the fair for the woollen manufacture begins to close up; these are the wool and the hops. There is scarce any price fixed for hops in England, 'till they know how they sell at Stirbitch fair. The quantity, that appears in that fair, is indeed prodigious, and they take up a large part of the field, on which the fair is kept, to themselves. They are brought directly from Henningham in Essex, from Canterbury and Maidstone in Kent, and from Farnham in Surrey, besides

* I can offer nothing certain as to the meaning or origin of this word; but it would seem to be some kind of woollen stuff that has taken its name from the manufacturer who invented it.

† I never remember to have met with this word *cantaloons;* and, where so little certainty can be obtained, will not venture to trouble the reader with mere guesses. *Duroy* is what we now call *corduroy*.

what are brought from London, of the growth of these and other places.

"Great quantities of heavy goods, and hops amongst the rest, are sent down the river Cam (which runs by the bottom of the fair) to Lynn, and shipped there for the Humber to Hull, York, &c., for Newcastle upon Tyne, and from thence to Scotland. For, as they do not yet plant hops in the north, this is one reason why at Stirbitch fair there is so great a demand for them; besides, as there are very few hops, if any, worth naming, growing in all the counties even on this side Trent, these counties, as well as Norfolk and Suffolk, bought most of their hops at this fair. This is a testimony of the prodigious resort of the trading people of all parts of England.

"The article of wool is of several sorts, but principally fleece-wool out of Lincolnshire, where the largest staple is found, the sheep of these parts being of the largest breed. The quantity of wool only, which has been sold at this place in one fair, has been said to amount to 50, or 60,000 pounds in value; some say, a great deal more.

"By these articles a stranger may make some guess at the immense trade which is carried on at this place, what prodigious quantities of goods are bought and sold, and what a vast concourse of people are seen here from all parts of England.

"Several other sorts of English manufactures are brought hither to be sold; as all sorts of wrought iron and brass ware from Birmingham; edged tools, knives, &c. from Sheffield; glass wares and stockings from Nottingham and Leicester.

"Here is a court of justice always open, and held every day in a shed built on purpose in the fair: this is for keeping the peace and deciding controversies in matters arising from the business in the fair. The magistrates

of the town of Cambridge are judges in this court as being in their jurisdiction, or they holding it by special privilege. Here they determine matters in a summary way, as is practiced in those we call pye-powder courts in other places, or as a court of conscience, and they have a final authority without appeal.

"To attend this fair and the prodigious crowds of people, which resort to it, there are sometimes no less than fifty hackney coaches, which come from London, and ply night and morning to carry the people to and from Cambridge, for there the gross of them lodge; nay, which is still more strange, there are wherries brought from London on waggons, to ply upon the little river, Cam, and to row people up and down from the town and from the fair as occasion presents.

"It is not to be wondered at if the town of Cambridge can not receive or entertain the numbers of people that come to this fair; for not Cambridge, but all the towns round are full; nay, the very barns and stables are turned into inns to lodge the meaner sort of people. As for the fair-people, they all eat, drink, and sleep in their booths,* which are so intermingled with taverns, coffee-houses, drinking-houses, eating-houses, cooks'-shops, &c. and so many butchers and higglers from all the neighbouring counties come in every morning with beef, mutton, fowls, butter, bread, cheese, eggs, and such things,

* These booths or buildings however must always have been of a very slight and temporary nature. In another part of Coles' multifarious manuscripts, (vol. xxiv. p. 129—5820. Plut. 120, D.) he writes "St. Michael, Sept. 29, 1772. Soft and misling day. After a very wet day yesterday at Sturbridge fair, where were three professed play-houses *till one was absolutely blown down by an high storm of wind* on Thursday night preceding."—He seems, however, to think that some apology is requisite for the number of theatres, for he adds, "the times are such that the vice-chancellor can't well refuse them."

and go with them from tent to tent, from door to door, that there is no want of provisions of any kind, either dressed or undressed.

"In the Duddery, on the two cheif Sundays during the fair, both forenoon and afternoon divine service is read, and a sermon preached, from a pulpit placed in the open air, by the minister of Barnwell, who is very well paid for the same by the contribution of the fair-keepers. In a word the fair is like a well-governed city, and there is the least disorder and confusion that can be seen any where with so great a concourse of people.

"Towards the latter end of the fair, and when the great hurry of wholesale business begins to be over, the gentry come in from all parts of the country round; and though they come for their diversion, yet it is not a little money they lay out, which generally falls to the share of the retalers; such as, the toy-shops, goldsmiths, brasiers, ironmongers, turners, milliners, mercers, &c.; and some loose corns they reserve for the puppet-shows, drolls, rope-dancers, and such like, of which there is no want.

"Thus ends the whole fair, and in less than a week or more scarce any sign is left that such a thing has been there, except by the heaps of dung, straw, and other rubbish, which is left behind, trod into the earth, and is as good as a summer's fallow for the land."*

The *rows* described by Cole, were each devoted like the streets of some Eastern city to a particular trade or produce, and from this also every one of them took its name; as *Booksellers' Row, Garlick Row, Cooks' Row*, &c. Of course such a mass even of temporary buildings must have required a considerable time for their erection, and accordingly we find that, if the corn were not cleared off the field by the 24th of August, the builders were allowed to erect their

* Coles' Collections for Cambridgeshire.—MS. folio, 232, 582. Plut. cxx. D., vol. xx., in the British Museum.

booths, though in so doing they must needs trample down the harvest; on the other hand if the booths were not cleared away by Michaelmas Day at noon, the ploughmen were allowed to plough up the ground, and destroy whatever remained standing.*

The fair in the reign of Elizabeth lasted thirty six days,† though, when first established by the authority of King John, it was only of one day's continuance; and again in later periods the time of it was much curtailed.

The university has the oversight of the weights and measures, as well as the licensing of the shows. To the corporation of the town belong the tolls and the general management of the fair, the court above-mentioned being presided over by the Mayor or his deputy. To keep the peace he has eight servants called *Redcoats*, who enact the part of policemen, patrolling the fair and apprehending all offenders. The proctors of the university also keep a court there to hear complaints about weights and measures, to seek out and punish women of the town, and see that the gownsmen commit no disorder.

* See *The History and Antiquities of Sturbridge Fair*, in the fifth volume of BIBLIOTHECA TOPOGRAPHICA BRITANNICA or ANTIQUITIES IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE, SUFFOLK, &c., p. 80. 4to., Lond. 1790.

† "Cum major, ballivi, et burgenses villæ nostræ Cantabrigiæ in comitatu Cantabrigiæ ante tricesimum annum inciti et præcharissimi patris nostri Domini Henrici, Dei gratia nuper regis Angliæ octavi, de tempore in tempus existentes, tempore cujus contrarium memoriæ hominum non existit, habuerint ac usi fuerint habere et tenere quotannis quandam feriam sive nundinas apud Barnewell et Sturbridge, in predicto comitatu Cantabrigiæ ac infra libertatem villæ nostre Cantabrigiæ tentam sive tentas ac per nomen nundinarum de Sturbridge cognitam seu cognitas, incipientem sive incipientes quolibet anno in festo Sancti Bartholomæi apostoli, et ab eodem festo continue usque decimum quartum diem proximum post festum exaltationis Sancte Crucis singulis annis durantem sive durantes &c." Idem. APPendix. No. vi. p. 12.

The proclamation for this Fair is made by the vice-chancellor and the mayor on alternate years, and at one time it took place on the Vigil of Holy Rood day (September 13); but in the reign of Elizabeth it was changed to the Vigil of the Nativity of the Virgin (September 7) which happened to be her birth-day. By the alteration of the calendar, it has now slipt on to the eighteenth of September, and the fair itself commences on the day following. Its duration however has been curtailed to fourteen days.

St. Michael and all the Holy Angels—Michaelmas Day; September 29. St. Michael has obtained the honour of this day from its being the anniversary of the dedication of a church to him on Mount Garganus,* or Mount St. Angelo, a mountain in Apulia. Such at least is one version, though this church on Mount Garganus would rather seem to belong to the *Apparition* of St. Michael. If however any cause could be assigned for the second title of the day, namely that of *All the Holy Angels,* there would be little difficulty in saying why Michael should more particularly claim it as his festival. He was at the head of the *archangels,* as Raphael was leader of the '*order of powers,*' Uriel '*of the order of seraphims,*'—and Gabriel of the *order of Gods.*† He it was that bore the banner of the celestial host, and led it against Lucifer and his followers, by the superiority of his military tactics driving them out of Heaven, and then enclosing them in a space mid-way between earth and the skies above. "He had also," says the Golden Legend,‡ "a grete plee and altercacyon with the devyll for the body of Moyses, bycause he wolde not shewe it, for the chyldren of Israell sholde have

* So says Bourne in his *Antiquitates Vulgares*, p. 219.

† See Randle Holme's *Academy of Armory*, book 2, chap. i. p. 11.

‡ THE FEEST OF SAYNT MYCHAEL, folio 254,—Folio; Wynkyn de Worde, London, 1527.

adoured and worshypped it." With such attributes it is no wonder that he should be at the head of a feast appropriated to all the angels, at a time when the beautiful simplicity of the christian faith had become perverted, and in most of its rites and ceremonies had degenerated into paganism. At a very early period we find a whole army of saints in array, each of whom took under his especial charge some favoured class of mankind, or protected against some especial malady.* Some were less restricted in their function, or, to use a medical phrase, were general

* Amongst these we find that ANNA gives riches; SEBASTIANUS drives away the pestilence; VALENTINUS cures the epilepsy; STAPINUS, the gout; LIBORIUS, the stone; SYMPHORIANUS, hernia; PETRONILLA, fever; WOLFGANGUS, paralysis; MARCUS protects against sudden death; ANTONIUS, against erysipelas; ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST and BENEDICTUS, against poison; Anastasius, against head-aches; OTILIA, against diseases of the eyes; APOLLONIA, against tooth-ache; BLASIUS, against angina; AGATHA, against diseases of the breast; LAURENTIUS against diseases of the back; in torture LUPUS lends his aid; in childbirth, MARGARETA; to obtain the safe bringing forth of a son, FELICITAS must be invoked; in melancholy, MATURIUS; against the cough, catarrh, and warts, QUIRINUS; against colicky pains, ERASMUS; against the itch and ulcers, ROCHUS; while JOHN THE BAPTIST and ROMANUS help madmen and those possessed with a devil; THEODORUS was to be addressed in storms and tempests; EUTYCHIUS for obtaining rain; GERVASIUS and VINCENTIUS for finding out thieves; JOBUS against the venereal disease; FLORIANUS against fires and lightning; and JOHN THE EVANGELIST, against hail.

Then again every trade and occupation had its own patron Saint. *Divines* had Thomas and Augustine; *Physicians* and *Pharmacopolists*, Cosmas and Damian; *Philosophers*, Catharina; *Scholars and Students*, Gregory; *Merchants*, Frumentius and Guido; *Musicians*, Leo, Romanus, and Cecilia; *Painters*, Luke; *Goldsmiths* and *Melters*, Elizius and Januarius; *Statuaries*, Claudius, Nicostratus, Symphorianus, Castorius, and Simplicianus; *Blacksmiths*, Leonhardus, Dumstanus (St. Dunstan) and Longinus; *Shoemakers*, Crispinus, Homobonus, Zachœus, and Deusdedit; *Clothiers*, Michael, Meningus, and Severus; *Tailors*, Gutmanus; *Potters*, Goarus; *Carpenters*, Wolfgang, Jacobus, Bœticus, and Josephus; *Horsemen*, Georgius; *Grooms*, Eulogius;

practitioners* and fought indiscriminately against all the plagues and accidents to which human life and the human frame are liable. Others again presided over cities; and indeed there was hardly any city of note in the Christian world that

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Wheelwrights, Josephus; *Locksmiths*, Leonhardus; *Porters*, Christopherus; *Glaziers*, Clarus; *Huntsmen*, Eustachius; *Vine-dressers* and *Vintagers*, Urbanus; *Curriers* and *Sadlers*, Bartholomæus; *Weavers*, Onuphrius; *Gardeners*, Adelranus; *Soldiers*, Adrianus; *Charcoal-burners*, Alexander; *Shepherds*, Wendelinus, Cutbertus, and Simeon Stylita; *Sailors* and *travellers by water*, Nicolaus, Christophorus, and of late Petrus Gonsalez; *Swineherds*, Antonius, Eberhardus, Harmogastes, and Ulmarez; *Agriculturists*, Albanus, Fortunatus,* Isidorus, Lambertus, and Leontius; *Widows*, Gertrudis; *Wives*, Anna; the *Betrothed*, Dorothea; the *unchaste* also invoke the same; *Maid-servants*, Dula and Agothoclea; *Servants*, Eunus, Vitalis, and Justus; *Harlots* pray to Maria Magdalene and Afra; and *Captives* call upon St. Leonard. (J. A. Fabricii Bibliographia Antiquaria, p. 267. 4to. Hamb. and Leips. 1713.)

In addition to this S. Agatha presides over *fire*; S. Nicolaus and Christophorus, over *water*; S. Justus, over the earth and its fruits; Valerianus and Theodorus over the *air* and *storms*; Gertrudis and Nicasius drive away *mice and dormice*; Lupus expels *weasels*; Rupert and Vitus are the patrons of *dogs*; Wendelinus of *sheep*; Eulogius, of *horses*; Pelagius, of *oxen*; Antonius, of *hogs*; Gallus, of *geese*; Urbanus and Medardus, of the vine.

Lastly, every month has its tutelar saint against the pest, and indeed in most cases more than one saint was appointed to the office. It should be observed too, though it can hardly have escaped the reader's notice, that there is some want of certainty and precision in these saintly regulations, as we often find a saint presiding over one thing by himself, and over another in company with some of his brethren. The catalogue too might be extended beyond what is given to us by Fabricius.

* These however were only fourteen in number, and were respectively known as St. *Blasius*, *Dionysius*, *Erasmus*, *Pantaleo*, *Vitus*, *Georgius*—by some called *Gregory*—*Cyriacus*, *Christophorus*, *Achatius*, *Eustachius*, *Ægidius*, *Barbara*, *Catharina*, and *Margareta*.

was left unprovided of a patron saint, while in many cases whole kingdoms were taken under their protection.* It is impossible not to see in all this a direct imitation of the Pagan world. If England has its St. George, France its Saint Denys, and Rome its Saint Peter, for their especial protectors, so also had the Ephesians their Diana, the Egyptians their Isis and Osiris, the Babylonians their Bell, the Rhodians the Sun, and the Paphians their Venus. In the angels too we are not less reminded of the guardian genii of antiquity: for if the Egyptians allowed three tutelar genii to every man, the Pythagoreans two, and the Romans a good and evil attendant spirit, their Christian descendants did the same thing in fact, though not in name, when they allowed to every one his good and evil angel. True it is that at one time the Council of Laodicea forbade the adoration of angels, but the heresy, if it were one, in later times obtained the full sanction of

* Thus Moresinus in his PAPATUS says, (p. 48. Edit. 1596.) "Scotiæ Andream, Angliæ Georgium, Galliæ Dionysium (St. Denys) &c.; Edinburgo Egidium, Aberdoniæ Nicolaum"—and here he breaks off, as if weary of the detail, which might however be considerably extended. Stephen in his WORLD of Wonders (p. 31ā) as quoted by Brand, gives a few of them—St. Eligia and St. Norbert for *Antwerp*; St. Hulderich, or Ulric, for *Augsburg*; St. Martin, for *Boulogne*; St. Mary and St. Donation, for *Bruges*; St. Mary and St. Gudula, for *Brussels*; the Three Kings of the East, for *Cologne*; St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins, also for *Cologne*; St. George and St. John the Baptist, for *Genoa*; St. Bavo and St. Liburn, for *Ghent*; St. Martial, for *Limosin*; St. Vincent, for *Lisbon*; St. Mary and St. Rusnold, for *Mechlin*; St. Martin and St. Boniface, for *Mentz*; St. Ambrose, for *Milan*; St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Januarius, for *Naples*; St. Sebald, for *Nuremberg*; St. Frideswide, for *Oxford*; St. Genevieve, for *Paris*; St. Peter and St. Paul, for *Rome*; St. Rupert, for *Salzburg*; the Virgin Mary, for *Sienna*; St. Ursus, for *Soleure*; St. Mark, for *Venice*; and St. Stephen, for *Vienna*.

the church.* Surely then it is not pronouncing a harsh or unfounded judgment if we say that the whole web of popery is thickly interwoven with paganism, and has at least as much of Heathen fancies in its fabric as of the simple code of Christ. Nothing can be more direct to this purpose than the evidence of the prefect Symmachus in his touching and beautiful appeal to the Emperor Valentinian for the restoration of the ancient altars. †

Besides being one of the four quarterly days, Michaelmas is distinguished as the general time for the election of civic magistrates throughout the country.

* "Nunc ex Papismo angeli duo cuique assident; bonum his conceptis precantur verbis—

Angele, qui meus est custos pietate superna,
Me tibi commissum serva, defende, guberna."

MORESINI PAPATUS, p. 10.

† Symmachus, who flourished in the fourth century, was a Roman senator, strongly attached to the religion of his forefathers, and a vehement opponent of Christianity. His address to the Emperor Valentinian the Second for the re-establishment of the vestals and of the altar of Victory is still extant in his letters (Epist. 54, lib. x. in the Paris 4to. of 1604—Epist. 61, lib. x. in the edition of the same, by Scioppius, 1608.) Notwithstanding the unfavourable opinion pronounced of his writings by Gibbon, I must confess that this appeal to Valentinian in behalf of the unfashionable faith appears to me both sensible and impassioned, and I am fully borne out in my judgment by Ambrosius, who, while vigorously endeavouring to repel his arguments, yet does justice to his genius. "I reply to him," says the bishop, "not as being doubtful of your faith, O Emperor, but from prudent caution, and only begging that you will not take *elegance of language* for force of things." And a little farther on he says "*aurea* est lingua sapientium litteratorum."—Golden is the tongue of the learned wise.—(S. AMBROSII *Libellus Sec: contra Relationem Symmachi.*) But let the render take the following extract from Symmachus, and judge how far such a writer deserves the sneer of Gibbon, that his "luxuriancy consists of barren leaves without fruits, and even without flowers."

"Noster autem labor pro clementia vestra ducit excubias; cui enim magis commodat quòd instituta majorum, quòd patriæ jura et fata de-

The Lord Mayor of London* is now elected for the ensuing year, and the two sheriffs, who have been previously chosen, are solemnly sworn into office.

The custom of eating geese upon this day has been a sad puzzle to antiquarians, and to the present time no reasonable cause has been assigned for it. Some have sug-

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fendimus, quam temporum gloriæ, quæ tum est major cùm vobis contra morem parentum intelligitis nil licere? Repetimus igitur religionum statum 'qui Reip. diu profuit. Certe numerentur principes utriusque sectæ, utriusque sententiæ; proximus eorum ceremonias patrum coluit, recentior non removit. Si exemplum non facit religio veterum, faciat dissimulatio proximorum. Quis ita familiaris est barbaris ut aram Victoriæ non requirat? Cauti in posterum sumus, et tristium rerum ostenta vitamus; reddatur tantùm nomini honor qui numini denegatus est. Multa Victoriæ debet æternitas vestra, et adhuc plura debebit. Aversantur hanc potestatem quibus nihil profuit; vos amicum triumphis patrocinium nolite deserere. Cunctis potentia ista votiva est. Nemo colendam neget quam profitetur optandam. Quod si numinis non esset justa curatio, saltim ornamentis Curiæ decuit abstineri. Præstate, oro vos, ut ea quæ pueri suscepimus, senes posteris relinquamus. Consuetudinis amor magnus est.''

Now, so far from there being any of that luxuriance, which Gibbon reprehends, the style is extremely terse, simple, and energetic. The corruptions of the text are evident, but I have not ventured to touch them.

* It would seem that in former times the Lord Mayor of London was always elected, or supposed to be elected, from one of the twelve privileged companies. If he did not actually belong to any of them, the difficulty was got over by translating him, as it were, to one of the twelve; nor was the custom discontinued till the time of Sir Brook Watson, in 1796. Pennant, when speaking of the Mercers, observes, "this company is the first of the twelve, or such who are honoured with the privilege of the Lord Mayor's being elected out of one of them. The name by no means implied originally a dealer in silks; for *mercery* included all sorts of small wares, toys, and haberdashery. But as numbers of this opulent company imported great quantities of rich silks from *Italy*, the name became applied to the company and all dealers in silk." PENNANT'S LONDON, p. 440. 4to. Lond. 1793.

gested that it may have arisen from the fact of geese just now being in high season; but this seems to be rather a cutting of the knot than an untying of it. That, like most of our other customs and festivals, it has been derived from Paganism, I have no doubt whatever, though the connecting link in the chain is now lost to us. The goose, as we all know, was amongst the Egyptians sacred to Isis and Osiris,* and amongst the Romans to Juno† and Priapus,‡ and when we consider that in so many instances we find the prototypes of the saints in the Gods and Goddesses of heathendom, there seem to be strong grounds for suspecting that Saint Michael is here only occupying the place, and receiving the honours of some pagan deity.—"When St. Eloy, who is the saint for smiths,

* "Nec defensa juvant Capitolia, quo minus anser
Det jecur in lances, Inachi lauta, tuas."
Ovidii Fastor. lib. i. v. 453.

"Isidi anser propria victima dicata fuit." *Alexander ab Alexandro*—GENIALES DIES. Lib. iii. cap. xii. p. 705., tom. i. Lugd. Bat. 1673.

Juvenal too assures us that Osiris was particularly fond of goose, and when offended by the ladies in certain delicate matters was to be bought off by the sacrifice of a fat one, and her anger thus completely mollified:

"Illius lacrymæ meditataque murmura præstant
Ut veniam culpæ non abnuat, ansere magno
Scilicet, et tenui popano corruptus Osiris."
Satira vi., v. 540.

† "Anseres non fefellere, quibus sacris Junoni in summa inopia cibi tamen abstinebatur."—*T. Livii. Hist.* lib. v. cap. 48.

Here we find that the people would starve rather than eat a piece of goose, leaving Juno to consume it by her deputies, the priest. The modern mode of folks devouring their own geese is a great improvement upon ancient manners.

‡ "Occidisti Priapi delicias, anserem omnibus matronis acceptissimum."—*T. Petronii Arbitri Satyricon*, cap. 137. The fact is, that the goose had the same imaginary qualities amongst the profligate Romans that our elder dramatists attributed to eryngo and other roots of the same kind.

doth hammer his irons, is he not instead of God Vulcan? And do they not give the same titles to St. George, which in old times were given to Mars? And do they not honour St. Nicholas after the same manner that pagans honoured God Neptune? And when St. Peter is made a porter, doth he not represent God, Janus? Nay, they would faine make the angell Gabriel beleeve that he is God Mercury. And is not Pallas the Goddesse of arts and sciences represented to us by St. Katherine? And have they not St. Hubert, the God of hunters instead of Diana? —which office some give to St. Eustace.—And when they apparell John Baptist in a lion's skin, is it not to represent Hercules unto us? And is not St. Katherine commonly painted with a wheele as they were wont to paint Fortune?" *

Mr. Douce has imagined that the custom originated from Queen Elizabeth's receiving the news of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, while dining off a goose, and hence that which had been merely casual grew into an observance. The story, sufficiently improbable in itself, is rendered absolutely impossible by the fact of the custom having existed so early as the time of Edward the Fourth. —" John de la Hay took of William Barnaby, Lord of Lastres, in the county of Hereford, one parcel of land of the demesne lands, rendering therefore twenty-pence a year, and *one goose* fit for the lord's dinner, on the feast of St. Michael, the archangel, suit of court, and other services thereupon due, &c."†

* WONDERS OF THE WORLD, p. 308, as quoted by Brand, vol. i. p. 203.

† Joannes de la Hay cepit de Will. Barnaby, domino de Lastres in com. Heref. unum parcellum terræ de terris dominicalibus. Reddend. inde per annum xxd, et unam aucam habilem pro prandio domini in festo Sancti Michaelis, archangeli, sectam curiæ, et alia servitia inde debita &c. Rot. Cur. 10 Edw. IV.—Blount, 8. See Beckwith's edition of the *Fragmenta Antiquitatis*, p. 412.

A singular custom connected with this day prevails at Kidderminster in Worcestershire. "On the election of a bailiff the inhabitants assemble in the principal streets to throw cabbage-stalks at each other. The town-house bell gives signal for the affray. This is called *lawless hour*. This done—for it lasts an hour—the bailiff elect and corporation, in their robes, preceded by drums and fifes, (for they have no waits) visit the old and new bailiff, constables, &c. &c., attended by the mob. In the mean time the most respectable families in the neighbourhood are invited to meet and fling apples at them on their entrance. I have known forty pots of apples expended at one house."*

In St. Kilda, one of the Scottish isles, it was a custom at one time upon this day to bake a large loaf, or cake rather, compounded of various ingredients, which had its name from St. Michael and was said in popular parlance to belong to him. Every one in the family, even to strangers and domestics, had his allotted portion of this cake, by the eating of which he testified his respect to the archangel, and laid a claim to his protection.†

In the island of Barray they have a similar custom, but attended with other ceremonies. Previously to eating of the cake they form a cavalcade in the village of Kilbar, and march about the church. ‡

Finally, to conclude our account of this month, there was a superstition attached to it, that "so many dayes old the moon is on Michaelmass day, so many floods after."§

* Gentleman's Magazine *for May*, 1790, vol. 60, part ii. p. 1191.

† See *Macaulay's Hist. of St. Kilda*, p. 22, 8vo. London, 1764.

‡ See Martin's Western Islands of Scotland, p. 100, 8vo, London, 1716.

§ *Stevenson's* Twelve Months, p. 44. 4to. London, 1661.

A SINGULAR PRAYER.

MANY ingenious folks—of that class, which in proverbial language sees farther into a mill-stone than its neighbours—have never been able to bring themselves to believe in the character of Louis the Eleventh, as drawn by Sir Walter Scott in Quentin Durward. Even history itself has failed to convince them that a man could play fast and loose with his conscience as Louis is described to have done; yet here we have a man in our own country, and not so very long ago, who seemed to keep his reckonings with Heaven much after the same fashion. I allude to John Ward, of Hackney. This worthy and pious man, whose ideas of religion would have done honour to the most ignorant and bigotted of the Scotch covenanters, is the very John Ward, upon whom Pope has conferred an infamous immortality by placing him, where no doubt he well deserved to be placed, in company with Chartres and the devil.

> "Like doctors thus, when much dispute has past,
> We find our tenets just the same at last;
> Both fairly owning riches in effect
> No grace of Heaven, no token of th' elect,
> Giv'n to the fool, the mad, the vain, the evil,
> To *Ward*, to Waters, Chartres, and the devil." *

* Epistle to Allen, Lord Bathurst.

He is said in early life to have been engaged in a floor-cloth manufactory, and in process of time obtaining wealth, and the consideration which in England more especially belongs to it, he became the representative in parliament of the borough of Melcombe Regis. The wisdom of his constituents was quickly proved by his soon afterwards "making a mistake"—as a certain historian quaintly terms it—"in respect to a deed in which the interest of the Duchess of Buckingham was implicated." The consequence of this *mistake* was a prosecution by the Duchess for forgery, and, the jury returning a verdict against him, he had the misfortune of doing penance by a public exhibition of himself in the pillory, and was expelled the House of Commons. Probably, however, he grieved as little for the loss of honour as Falstaff himself did when he made his celebrated oration upon that very perishable commodity; but a blow quickly followed, to which such a man as Ward was by no means likely to be insensible. He had an action brought against him by the South-Sea Company for the recovery of fifty thousand pounds, which he had assisted the well known director, Sir John Blount, to conceal, and the Company recovered the full amount of damages laid in their declaration. The consequence of the verdict thus given against him was an execution which swept away all the furniture and effects of his house in Church Street.* But this proving very insufficient to meet so heavy a demand, or even to cover the costs of the action, it was manifest that his estates and tangible property would be in danger, and to obviate the peril he did not scruple to forge a deed of prior conveyance. His opponents met and defeated this attempt by a suit in chancery, and with all his ingenuity he was compelled to surrender a portion, and that no small one, of his ill-got

* At the corner of Dalston Lane, from the upper extremity of Hackney, through Dalston to Kingsland.

possessions, after having endured a long imprisonment, the tedium of which he is said to have relieved by the amusement of torturing animals.

It may perhaps be thought that history, as is sometimes the case, has caught up a popular prejudice, and been unjust to the memory of this man; but the following paper—and it was *that* which formed my chief object in bringing him before the bar of the public—will sufficiently show that he was likely enough to be guilty of all that has been ascribed to him. It is in fact a prayer—the Miser's Prayer—and was found in Ward's own hand-writing amongst a variety of other curious documents.

"O Lord, thou knowest that I have nine estates in the city of London, and likewise that I have lately purchased an estate in fee simple in the county of Essex; I beseech thee to preserve the two counties of Middlesex and Essex from fire and earthquakes; and as I have a mortgage in Hertfordshire, I beg of thee likewise to have an eye of compassion on that county; and for the rest of the counties thou mayest deal with them as thou art pleased. Oh Lord, enable the bank to answer all their bills, and make all my debtors good men. Give a prosperous voyage and return to the Mermaid sloop, because I have ensured it; and as thou hast said the days of the wicked are but short, I trust in thee that thou wilt not forget thy promise, as I have purchased an estate in reversion, which will be mine on the death of that profligate young man, Sir J. L. Keep my friends from sinking, and preserve me from thieves and housebreakers; and make all my servants so honest and faithful that they may attend to my interests, and never cheat me out of my property, night or day."

This is one of the many examples on record and in our own experience of men combining in themselves the ut-

most fanaticism of religion with the total absence of any thing like moral feeling. As to Hackney, it always abounded in subjects for the Newgate Calendar, and has contributed more largely to the list of Old Bailey heroes than any other village of the same dimensions. Its principal boasts are Richard Turpin, Jack the Painter, and John Hall, the chimney-sweep, whose fame has been handed down to posterity in the well-known ballad of,

"My name it is Jack Hall,—
Chimney sweep! chimney sweep!
I rob both great and small,—
Chimney sweep! chimney sweep!"

POPULAR SUPERSTITIONS.

Clary (Horminum, Herminium). —Mizaldus, as great a collector in his way, of curiosities as Pliny himself, affirms that the leaves of the *garden-clary* draw out thorns from the flesh, and accelerate difficult and protracted labours. Being mixed with wine they exhilarate the mind and excite the passions, provided they be taken in moderation; if indulged in too freely they affect the head by the potency of their odour.*

The Moon.—Of all the superstitions attached to the moon,—and they are by no means few—the strangest is one mentioned by Spartianus, and which I do not recollect meeting with in any other believer in the incredible. He says that those people, who hold the Moon to be a female, and so call her, will always be found slaves to women, while those, who consider the moon of the male gender, will always rule their wives. Now, of all the European nations there is, I believe, but one—the Ger-

* "Folia hormini sativi, quæ nostra est Orvalla, trita aculeos ac spinas è corporibus detrahunt, morantesque partus et difficiles accelerant. Vino injecta mentem exhilarant, excussis animi nebulis, ac Venerem stimulant. Sed liberalius sumpta caput tentant odoris vi et gravitate." Ant. Mizaldus, Memorabilium Centuriæ Novem.—Cent. ii., Apothegm 82, p. 27.

man, namely,—which does not make a lady of the moon, so that by every law of natural philosophy the rest of us must inevitably be henpecked.*

The Devil's Death.—Plutarch saith that his countriman, Epitherses, told him, that, "as he passed by sea into Italie, manie passengers being in his bote, in an evening when they were about the islands, Echinadæ, the wind quite ceased; and the ship driving with the tide was brought at last to Paxe. And whilst some slept, and others quafft, and others some were awake (perhaps in as ill case as the rest) after supper suddenlie a voice was heard calling 'Thamus!'—in such sort as every man marvelled. This Thamus was a pilot borne in Egypt, unknown to manie that were in the ship. Wherefore being twice called, he answered nothing; but the third time he answered; and the other with a louder voice commanded him that when he came to Palodes he should tell that the great God, Pan, was departed. Whereat every one was astonished (as Epitherses affirmed) and being in consultation what were best to do, Thamus concluded that if the wind were hie they must passe by with silence; but if the weather were calme, he must utter that which he had heard. But when they came to Palodes, and the weather calme, Thamus looking out towards the land, cried aloud that the great God, Pan, was dead; and immediatlie there followed a lamentable noise of a multitude of people as it were with great wonder and admiration. And because they were manie in the ship, they

* "Sciendum doctissimis quibusque id memoriæ traditum, atque ita nunc quoque à Carrenis præcipuè haberi, ut qui Lunam fœmineo nomine ac sexu putaverit nuncupandam, is addictus mulieribus semper inserviat; at verò qui marem deum esse crediderit, is dominetur uxori, neque ullas muliebres patiatur insidias."—*Ælii Spartiani Antoninus Caracallus*, p.413. HISTORIÆ AUGUSTÆ SCRIPTORES, vi.—8vo. Lugduni Batavorum, 1661.

said the fame thereof was speedilie brought to Rome, and Thamus sent for by Tiberius, the emperour, who gave such credit thereto that he diligentlie inquired and asked who that Pan was. The learned man about him supposed that Pan was he who was the sonne of Mercurie and Penelope, and Eusebius saith that this chanced in the time of Tiberius, the emperour, when Christ expelled all divels."*

Reginald Scot, from whom I have taken the above, must needs spoil a very pretty tale of superstition by attempting to explain it into reason. He observes with laudable gravity that this was nothing more than "a merrie gest devised by Thamus to make sport with the passengers, who were some asleepe, and some dronke, and some other at plaie, &c., whiles the first voice was used. And at the second voice, to wit when he should deliver his message, he being an old pilot knew where some voice was usuall by means of some echo in the sea, and thought he would (to the astonishment of them) accomplish his devise if the wether proved calme. Whereby may appeare that he would in other cases of tempests, &c., rather attend to more serious business than that ridiculous matter"—that is, Thamus cuts bad jokes in fine weather in order to show his passengers how serious he would be if a storm were to come on.

Many thanks are no doubt due to Master Reginald for his explanation, which is only a few grains more incredible than the story it is intended to elucidate. If the particular spot in question produced echoes at one time of calm, it would always do so. How then could the secret be confined to Thamus? surely other seamen must have noticed the same phenomenon, and if so, how came they all to be silent when the whole court of Tiberius was in

* Reginald Scot's DISCOVERIE OF WITCHCRAFT, 4to., London, 1584, cap. 4, p. 162.

an uproar at this wonder, and the emperor was sending far and wide for sages to explain it to him? The reader, I think, had better hold hard and fast by the miracle, and eschew the explanation.

King's Evil.—The Devonians believe that this disease may be cured by kissing seven virgins, the daughters of the same mother, for seven days successively.

Cauld Lod of Hilton.—The Cauld Lod is a species of Brownie haunting Hilton in the county of Durham,* and must not be confounded with *Jack of Hilton*, in Staffordshire, which is quite a different matter. This last is a little hollow image of brass, about twelve inches high, kneeling upon his left knee and holding his right hand upon his head,† having a little hole in the place of his mouth, about the bigness of a great pin's head, and another in the back about two thirds of an inch diameter, at which last hole it is filled with water, it holding about four pints and a quarter, which when set to a strong fire evaporates in the same manner as in an Æolipile, and, vents itself at the smaller hole at the mouth in constant blast, blowing the fire so strongly that it is very audible, and makes a sensible impression on that part of the fire where the blast lights.‡

With this image is—or perhaps I should say, *was*—connected a singular custom, the service namely due from the Lord of Essington to the Lord of Hilton, about a mile distant. According to the ancient tenure the Lord of Essington, as mean lord, is bound to bring a goose every New Year's Day, and drive it round the fire, in the hall at Hilton, at least three times, while Jack is blowing up the flames. After this ceremony has been duly performed, the Lord of Essington is farther obliged, either

* Surtees Durham, vol. ii., p. 26.

† And his left "super veretrum erectum."

‡ Dr. Plot's History of Staffordshire, folio, Oxford, 1686, p. 433.

by himself or bailiff, to carry the goose into the kitchen of Hilton Hall, and deliver it to the cook; when it is dressed, one of those doing service must bring it to the table of the lord paramount of Essington and Hilton, when he receives a dish of meat for himself in requital. It is little more than a hundred years since the bailiff of a mean, or sub-lord, actually rendered the ancient homage to his lord paramount; but Dr. Plot imagines this little brazen figure to have been originally a Priapid deity.

Devonshire.—"It is usual in this neighbourhood (Exeter) with those who are affected by an ague, to visit at dead of night the nearest cross-road five different times, and there bury a new-laid egg. The visit is paid about an hour before the cold fit is expected; and they are persuaded that with the egg they shall bury their ague. If the experiment fail—the agitation it occasions may often render it successful—they attribute it to some unlucky accident that may have befallen them on the way. In the execution of this matter they observe the strictest silence, taking care not to speak to any one whom they may happen to meet. Similar customs prevailed in ancient days. Theocritus abounds with descriptions of them. See his second and third Idyllia."*

Bleeding Corpses.—It was at one time a very general belief, and it is not yet quite exploded among the ignorant, that the corpse of a murdered man will bleed if touched by his murderer. This popular fallacy is of very ancient date, and should appear to have been brought to Britain by the first invading Saxons from the forests of Germany, that cradle of so many dark and fearful superstitions. We have sufficient authority for tracing it up to this point, as we have evidence of its legal existence in the old Anglo-Saxon records.†

* Gentleman's Magazine for August, 1787, vol. lvii. p. 719.

† See Edg. Can. 65. Ælf. Can. 35.

Cockle-bread.—"Young wenches have a wanton sport, which they call moulding of *cockle-bread*; viz. they get upon a table-board, and then gather up their knees and their coates with their hands as high as they can, and then they wabble to and fro, as if they were needing of dough, and say these words, viz.

My dame is sick and gone to bed,
And I'll go mould my cockle bread.

I did imagine nothing to have been in this but mere wantonnesse of youth; but I find in Burchardus, in his 'Methodus Confitendi,' printed at Colon, 1549, (he lived before the Conquest) one of the articles—on the seventh commandment—of interrogating a young woman is, if she did ever *subigere panem clunibus*,* and then bake it and give it to one she loved to eat, *ut in majorem modum exordesceret amor?*† So here I find it to be a relique of natural magick, an unlawful philtrum."‡

Upon the margin of Aubrey's manuscript White Kennett adds by way of note to the text,—"In Oxfordshire the maids, when they put themselves into the fit posture, sing thus,

* I must explain this only by paraphrase—"did she ever kneed bread by placing herself upon the dough?"

† The passage in Burchard, alluded to by Aubrey, is this—"Fecisti, quod quædam mulieres solent, quæ prosternunt se in faciem, et discopertibus natibus jubent, ut supra nudas nates conficiatur panis, et eo decocto tradunt maritis suis ad comedendum. Hoc ideo faciunt ut plus exardescant in amorem illorum." But this is delicacy itself, compared with some of the questions of the confessional, as given by Burchard, himself a Romish priest, and whose book seems to have been approved of by his church. As to the word *cockle*, in another part of the same unprinted work, Aubrey adds that "the word, *cockle*, is an old antiquated Norman word, which signifies '*nates*,' from a beastly rustic kind of play, or abuse, which was used when I was a schoolboy by a Norman gardener that lived at Downton, near me."

‡ *Aubrey's Remains of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, MS. fol. British Museum. Landsd. Biblio. No. 231.

My granny is sick, and now is dead,
And we'll go mould some *cockle-bread.*
Up with my heels and down with my head,
And this the way to mould cockle-bread."

So too in PEEL's "*Old Wives Tale*,"*

"Fair maiden white and red,
Comb me smooth and stroke my head,
And thou shalt have some *cockle-bread.*"†

Rocking-Cakes. — At Burcester, in Oxfordshire, at a christening, the women bring every one a cake, and present one first to the minister if present. At Wendelbury and other places they bring their cakes at a gossiping, and give a large cake to the father of the child, which they call a *Rocking-cake.*‡

Bite of Dogs.—The bite of a dog may be cured by applying his skin to the wound. Is not this vulgar error the origin of the proverb, popularly addressed to one who has been drunk but become sober again?—"take a hair of the dog that bit you."§

* *Peel's Works*, vol. i. p. 234.

† Upon this subject Mr. Dyce, as in so many other instances, has shown his utter incompetency for the task of editor. In his wretched edition of Peel (vol. i. p. 234), he first of all tells us that he does not know what cockell-bread is; next he conjectures, "that it was so called from being made into a particular shape resembling that of a cockle-shell;" then he quotes, on the authority of some female acquaintance, an old nursery rhyme, which ought to have opened his eyes, but which of course failed to do so;

"My grandmother is sick; I wish she was dead
For she taught me the way to make *cockelly bread.*"

And lastly he says that it has been suggested to him "that *cockell-bread* is an error of the press for *cocket-bread*;" this, however, he does not believe, and because it has nothing to do with the question, he immediately sets about explaining *cocket-bread*, by the help of *Cowel's Law Dictionary.*

‡ *Aubrey's Remains of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, p. 139, folio, MS. Landsdowne Catalogue, in British Museum, No. 231.

§ "La morsure du chien se guerit avec son poil appliquè sur la ploie,"—says Pluquet in his Contes Populaires (p. 39).

THE MONTHS—OCTOBER.

October is from the Latin without any change, and is thus designated as having been the eighth month from March. On the subject of the suffix I have already spoken.

By our Saxon ancestors it was called *Wynmonat*,* i.e. Wine-month; and *Winterfulleth*, or *Winterfyllith*†

Even at this late period the Flora is not altogether without interest. The *Autumnal Crocus*, or *Saffron*, now blows, its flowers being of a purplish pink colour, and so abundant was it at one time about Saffron Walden in Essex, that the place is said to have derived its name from that circumstance. The *Guernsey Lily* to, (Amaryllis Sarniensis) also blows in the open borders, exhibiting the

* Verstegan, p. 49. Edit. 1655.

† Winterfulleth, or Winterfyllith, is a compound word of *winter*, and *full*, because from the full moon of this month the winter seems to take its beginning; for our Saxon ancestors divided the year into two principal sections,—namely, winter and summer; the six months which included the longest days, being their summer, the other six making up their winter.—"Principaliter annum totum in duo tempora, hyemis videlicet et æstatis, dispartiebant; sex illos menses, quibus longiores noctibus dies sunt, æstati tribuendo, sex reliquos hyemi. Unde et mensem, quo hyemalia tempora incipiebant, Winterfyllith appellabant, *composito novo nomine* ab hyeme et plenilunio, quia videlicet a plenilunio ejusdem mensis hyems sortiretur initium." Bedæ Opera—*De Temporum Ratione*, cap. xiii. p. 68. tom. ii

intensest and most brilliant crimson. Nor have many other flowers even up to the middle of the month entirely deserted us. If the weather continues tolerably fine we shall still have *Asters, Marigolds, African Marigolds, Chrysanthemums, Zinnias, Dahlias,* and many others of the æstival plants, still in flower, besides the stumps of old stocks, and the occasional appearance of late-sown poppies. At the same time the forest-foliage presents such a variety of tints as we shall in vain look for at any other season.

By the middle of the month few æstival plants are seen except those just mentioned; but the autumnal Flora still prevails, and the *Michaelmas Daisy* (Aster Tradescanti) with a few others of the same sort are still abundant. The *fungi* too are common, their appearance, however, greatly depending upon the weather. They are sure to spring up plentifully at any period of the Autumn when wet weather succeeds to drought. The *Agaricus Floccosus*, one of the most regular as to the time of its first appearance, is generally found springing up about the roots of apple-trees in orchards and other places. That beautiful kind too, the *Agaricus Muscarius*, with its crimson and spotted pileus makes a splendid figure amongst the grass, though indeed it has often appeared before, and so early as the end of August.

Nothing can be more striking to him that loves nature than the changes of this month; the *China Asters, African Marigolds, Stocks, Starworts,* and many of the autumnal, as well as what remains of the æstival Flora seem about to bid farewell to the year; and, as the gales come on, the woods are stript of their leaves, and every thing has the barren look of winter, little else remaining to us but the *Virginia Creeper* (Hedera quinquefolia), and perhaps a few late *roses* and *wall-flowers* be seen. This last change does not take place all at once; the ash is among the first

to cast its leaves; the elm becomes greatly thinned; and the foliage of the poplar begin to fall fast. The beech, the hornbeam, and the oak, retain their leaves the longest, and in a measure keep them throughout the winter. Of the fruit trees, cherries, apples, and pears, now become bare, while the mulberry keeps its green foliage to the last, and frequently does not lose its leaves till the coming of the first sharp frost. Then they may often be seen dropping down in a shower on the rise of the sun after a frosty night, just as if they had been shaken from the tree by some sudden impulse from without.

In the garden the autumnal fruits of various kinds are ripened and ready to be gathered. Apples, pears, peaches, and nectarines are in full season; the over-ripe fruit drops from the damson-tree; the red berries from the mountain-ash fall apace; and the acorns cover the ground and mingle with the withered leaves. Even some very late kinds of grapes may now be seen ripening if the weather chances to be tolerably mild, and other sorts are still hanging on the vines. The sowing of wheat too is generally carried on this month unless the weather should prove too wet, in which case the farmer ploughs up the stubble-fields for winter-fallows and the sowing is deferred till later in the year. Acorns are sown at this season, and fruit, as well as forest, trees are planted.

On the first of the month pheasant shooting commences, and hare-hunting a little later, though indeed for this last sport there seems to be no fixed time, as it often begins in September, the state of the fields regulating the date of its commencement. Fox-hunting properly begins on, or near, the 13th.

About this time sheep are turned into the stubble-lands, where they feed on the herbage that grows among the old corn-stalks; and the hogs may be seen rambling about in all directions after acorns, beechmast, and

similar delicacies. The Swallows and Martins continue to migrate in large flocks, especially when the wind veers round to the north. On the other hand, the snipe begins to arrive in this country. The Royston, or Hooded, Crow, which had gone northward to breed, now returns to us, and the Woodcocks are first seen on our eastern coasts, though the great body of them does not come over till November or December. Towards the middle of the month Wild Geese quit the fens for the rye-lands, where they pluck the young corn; while Goldfinches, Titmice, and various kinds of small birds feed on the seeds in the garden, and more particularly on those of the Sunflower, and the evening-Primrose, as well as other esculent grains.

About the 16th, the general migration of swallows and martins has taken place, though a few may still be seen at times, more particularly if a southerly or westerly wind continue to blow for long together.*

October 1st.—"This day the Lord Mayor and aldermen proceeded from Guildhall; and the two sheriffs with

* The following account is given from Forster of the times of the arrival of the various migratory birds, not mentioned in the text.

The *Ring Ouzel* (Merula Torquata), arrives soon after Michaelmas.

Redwing (Turdus Iliacus), middle of October.

Fieldfare (Turdus Pilaris), October and November.

Snipe (Scolopax Gallinago), same time; but some of them breed here.

Pigeon, or *Stock Dove*, (Columba Oenas), end of November; some of them abide here.

Wood Pigeon, *Ring Dove*, (Columba Palumbes), some abide all the year, some arrive in spring, and others perform partial migrations.

The following are mere occasional visitors, frequently changing their summer and winter quarters.

Wild Swan (Cygnus Ferus).

Wild Goose (Anas Anser).

Pochard (Anas Fusca).

their respective companies from Stationer's Hall; and having embarked on the Thames—his lordship in the city-barge, and the sheriffs in the Stationers' barge—went in aquatic state to Palace yard; and a salute was fired from a small battery of cannon at Lambeth, after which they proceeded to the Court of Exchequer, where after the usual salutations to the bench (the Cursitor Baron, Francis Maseres, Esq., presiding,) the Recorder thus addressed the court, presenting the new sheriffs to his lordship, and paying a compliment by the way to the old ones. To this the Baron replied by expressing his approbation of those presented to him, and the several writs were then read, and the sheriff and the senior under-sheriff took the usual oaths.

[*The ceremony in the Court of Exchequer, which vulgar error supposed to be an unmeaning farce, is solemn and impressive, nor have the new sheriffs the least connexion either with chopping of sticks or counting of hobnails. The tenants of a manor in Shropshire are directed to come forth, and perform their suit and service, on which the senior alderman below the chair steps forward, and chops a single stick in token of its having been customary for the tenants of that manor to supply their lord with fuel. The owners of a forge in the parish of St. Clement (which formerly belonged to the city and stood in the high road from the Temple to Westminster, but now no longer exists) are then called forth to do their suit and service, when an officer of the court, in the presence of the senior alderman, produces six horse-shoes and sixty-one hobnails, which he counts over in form before the Chief Baron, who*

Teal, (Anas Querquedula).

The following birds appear at uncertain intervals.

Grosbeak (Lexia Coccothraustes).

Crossbill (Lexia Curvirostra).

Silk Tail, or *Waxen Chatterer*, (Ampelis Garrula).

*on this particular occasion is the immediate representative of the sovereign.**]

"The whole of the numerous company then again embarked in their barges and returned to Blackfriars bridge where the state carriages were in waiting. Thence they proceeded to Stationers' Hall, where a most elegant entertainment was given by Mr. Sheriff Domville."†

FEAST OF THE HOLY ANGEL-GUARDIANS.—*October* 2.—I have already had occasion to notice that the guardian-angels of Christianity had the same office assigned to them that the Pagans attributed to their guardian-genii. "That particular angels are appointed," says Alban Butler, "and commanded by God to watch over each particular person among his servants,—that is, all the just, or such as are in the state of grace,—is an article of the Catholic faith of which no ecclesiastical writer within the pale of the church in any age ever entertained the least doubt." Indeed it would be difficult to point out any difference between the two beyond that of mere name, except that the former in addition to their duty as guardians had also to register the crimes of their respective protegès in this world that they might bear witness against them in the next.

In its primitive sense, *angel*, derived from the Greek, meant nothing more than a *messenger*. The angels then were the messengers from Heaven, but the term being so particularly applied to them, it in time lost its original precise signification and became a vague misty symbol of something celestial—men hardly knew what—till at length as the purer code of Christianity became cor-

* The "solemnity" and "impressiveness" of this scene I must confess myself too *vulgar* to perceive. It is a stupid remain of the barbarous system of feudalism, and is not only ridiculous but mischievous, since it is a badge of slavery.

† GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE, p. 964, vol. lxxiv. for *October*, 1804.

rupted by human devices, and religion assumed a more gross and substantial form, the angels formed a class, like the genii of old, between man and the highest intelligence. They were then divided into ranks and orders like any human society, and are thus marshalled by Randle Holme with as much precision as if he had been Garter King of Arms amongst the angelic choir. To be sure he has good authority for his table of precedence.

"There remained still in Heaven, after the fall of Lucifer, the bright star and his company, more angels, than there ever was, is, and shall be, men born in the earth, which God ranked into nine orders, or chorus, called the Nine Quoires of Holy Angels.

1st. Is the order of *Seraphims*, whose Governour, or chief Archangel is Uriel; whose ensign is a flaming heart and a cross staff.

2. Is the order of *Cherubims*, whose archangel is Jophiel, who are represented young, having four wings to cover their faces and feet.

3. Is the order of *Archangels*, whose head is Michael. His ensign is a banner hanging on a cross, and armed as representing victory, with a dart in one hand, and a cross on his forehead.

4. Is the order of *Angels*, whose governour is Gabriel, whose ensign is a book and a staff.

5. Is the order of *Thrones*, whose chief is Zaphkiel or Sachiel, represented kneeling, whose ensigns are a palm and a crown.

6. Is the order of *Principalities*, whose archangel is Chamael, or Samael; whose ensign is a scepter and girdle across the breast, being the angel-guardian of kingdoms.

7. Is the order of *Powers*, whose leader is the archangel Raphael, or Raphel. Therefore his ensign, of some,

is made to be a thunderbolt and a flaming sword, thereby to withstand the power of evil angels.

8. Is the order of *Dominions*, whose archangel is Zadkiel, or Sachiel,* whose ensign is a sword and sceptre and a cross.

9. And the lowest is the order of *Virtues*, whose conductor and leader is Haniel, or Anael, whose ensign is a crown of thorns in one hand, and a cup of consolation in the other.

Yet some authors have them thus:—

1. Michael.—2. Gabriel.—3. Samael.—4. Raphael.—5. Sachiel.—6. Anael.—7. Cassiel or Gaphriel.

Some authors rank them thus:—

Seraphims; Cherubims; Thrones; Dominions; Vertues; Powers; Principalities; Archangels; Angels."†

Having given us this notable table, Holme pithily observes, "Where God hath his church, the devil will have his synagogue."

Old Michaelmas Day; *October 11th.*—Brand gives an account of a curious custom, connected with this day, from a London newspaper of October the 18th, 1787; it was however confined to Bishop's Stortford in Hertfordshire, and the adjacent neighbourhood. "On the morning of this day, called *Ganging Day*, a great number of young men assemble in the fields, when a very active fellow is nominated the leader. This person they are bound to follow, who for the sake of diversion generally chooses the rout through ponds, ditches, and places of difficult passage. Every person they meet is bumped, male or female, which is performed by two other persons taking them up

* There would seem to be some blunder here, for we have already had Sachiel in the Order of Thrones;—or were there two archangels of this name?

† *Randle Holme's Academy of Armory and Blazon.* Book ii, chap. 1. p. 11.

by their arms, and swinging them against each other. The women in general keep at home at this period, except those of a less scrupulous character, who for the sake of partaking of a gallon of ale and a plum-cake, which every landlord or publican is obliged to furnish the revellers with, generally spend the best part of the night in the fields if the weather is fair, it being strictly according to the ancient usage not to partake of the cheer any where else."*

St. Luke's Day; *October 18th.*—It was the custom in olden times for men and women of the lower orders to meet on St. Luke's Day, i. e. the 18th October, at the Mermaid Tavern Billingsgate, and take boat there for *Cuckold's Point,* or, as it was also called, *Cuckold's Haven.* This was situated on the river, not far from Deptford, and hence they passed through that town and Greenwich to Charlton, where the Fair itself was held, "to receive," as the old pamphleteer tells us, "a horn-fairing, which you are carefully to maintain and preserve with all love, constancy, and industry, till that day twelvemonth, with that uncomfortable *She* from whose kind hand you shall receive the present, having full power given you from that time over her body and her husband's goods, so far as they can be clandestinely converted to your good use and profit." He then goes on to say—"having discharged our waterman, we went into the house where the troop of merry cuckolds used to rendezvous, armed with shovel, spade, or pickaxe, their heads adorned with horned helmets, and from thence to march in order for Horn-Fair, levelling the way as they go, according to the command of their leader, that their wives might come after with their gallants, without spoiling their laced shoes, or dragging their holiday petticoats." The journey, however, for the lovers, from Cuckold's

* *Brand's Popular Antiquities,* vol. i. p. 208.

Point to the village of Charlton, appears to have been neither very safe nor very pleasant; and when they came upon the heath, it was absolutely requisite to arm themselves with ladles, in imitation of the blackguards that thronged the place: those, who neglected to comply with this established custom, ran no little risk of having their elbows cracked with the ladles used in stirring up the furmity-kettles, that reeked on every side. The women, too, were often whipped with as little mercy as decency.

At a yet earlier period it would seem that the butchers were more particularly connected with this festival, as is exemplified in innumerable passages of the old dramatists.

"*Enter* SLITGUT *with a pair of ox-horns, discovering Cuckold's Haven above.*

"*Slitg.* All hail, fair haven of married men only; for there are none but married men, cuckolds. For my part I presume to arrive here but in my master's behalf, a poor *butcher* of Eastcheap, who sends me to set up in honour of Saint Luke these necessary ensigns of his homage. And up I got this morning thus early, to get up to the top of this famous tree, that is all fruit and no leaves, to advance this crest of my master's homage."—EASTWARD HOE!

"You went to a *Butcher's feast* at Cuckold's Haven."—WESTWARD HOE!

There is no necessity, I presume, for citing more examples, but it was necessary to trace this feast to the butchers, inasmuch as it shows how St. Luke came to be connected with a ceremony so degrading. Though it does not seem to be generally known even amongst Catholic divines, the most learned of all churchmen, yet there can be no doubt that St. Luke was at one time held in this country by the vulgar, if not by others, to be the Patron, or Tutelar Saint of Cattle, and of those in any way connected with them, such for instance as butchers

and gamekeepers. The fact is sufficiently proved by the following extract from a MS. of old Aubrey's in the British Museum:—

"At Stoke-Verdon, in the parish of Broad-Chalke, was a chapell (in the chapell close by the Farme-house) dedicated to *Saint Luke, who is the patron, or Tutelar Saint of the Horne-beasts and those that have to do with them*, wherefore the keepers and foresters of the New Forest come hither every year at St. Luke's tyde with their offerings to St. Luke, that they might be fortunate in their game, the deer, and other cattle."*

We have next to inquire why Saint Luke should have been deemed the "Patron, or Tutelar Saint of the Horned Beasts and those that have to do with them." That he is constantly found in old engravings and in painted glass windows with the ox at his side is too well known to require any proof, and I think the reason of this is sufficiently evident from the Scriptures; but to be plain, we must be somewhat diffuse. The prophet, Ezekiel, in chap: i. v. 10, describes the cherubim as having the faces of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle, and a very early notion prevailed amongst the Christians that the four Evangelists were prefigured by this vision. This is stated by almost every ancient commentator, and many fanciful reasons have been assigned why the Evangelists should be designated by such types. There was some dispute among them whether the lion was the symbol of Saint Mathew or Saint Mark, but never any respecting the ox, or calf for Saint Luke, and the eagle for St. John. Bede, in his preface to his Commentary on Saint Luke, tells us that all former commentators were agreed "quod per vitulum Lucas significatus sit." Now then we see why Saint Luke was symbolized by the ox; and hence

* *Aubrey's Remains of Gentilism and Judaism*, MS. p. 215. See Lansdown Catalogue in the British Museum.

it is easy to infer how he became amongst the people the Tutelar Saint of horned cattle and those connected with them: finally, as the horn grew from other causes to be the emblem of cuckoldom, we can be at no loss to understand why Saint Luke's Day eventually got to be desecrated by this custom, or why butchers, above all others, should be its votaries.*

ST. CRISPIN AND ST. CRISPIANUS; *October 25th.*—These saints were patrons of the *gentle craft* as it has been called, and we must not be surprised at Crispin and Crispianus patronizing this humble but useful occupation when we find St. Dismas and St. Nicholas presiding over thieves, St. Martin and St. Urban over drunkards to guard them from falling into kennels, St. Mathurin over fools, and St. Magdalene, St. Afra,† and St. Brigit over prostitutes. Crispin and Crispinianus moreover had excellent grounds for taking the gentle craft under their protection, as a brief sketch of their story will show. They were Romans of noble birth, who conceived a fancy for converting the Heathens of France, and for this purpose set out on a missionary expedition to Soissons, having previously disposed of all their worldly goods and chattels. But so strictly was the edict of the emperors Dioclesian and Maximian observed in that city, that no one dared to lodge or relieve them, and in consequence they soon found they must work if they wished to

* This account has already appeared in a late periodical; as however upon re-considering the subject, I see no reason to alter my former opinion, I have reprinted the whole as I first wrote it. Both Brand and Hone have treated this matter at some length, but both have avoided the main question—what had Saint Luke to do with Cuckoldom?

† This is coming pretty near to Venus in name as well as occupation —*Aphra; Aphrodite.* How St. Briget, or, as her name is sometimes written, Bridget, got into such doubtful company I cannot say; but Magdalene had sufficient reasons of her own to account for her patronage.

live. Thus urged by necessity, they took to shoemaking, as being a quiet trade that did not interfere with their spiritual repose, when God himself instructed them thoroughly in the craft.* As they did not care for great gains, they soon got plenty of custom, and not to lose time they turned their shop into a chapel, preaching with so much zeal and unction that many who only thought of buying a pair of shoes, got the gospel into the bargain—"plusieurs acheterent d'eux sans aucun prix la Perle Evangelique, ne penchant acheter que des souliers.†" The fame thus acquired having come to the ears of the Prefect Rictiovarius, he loaded them with chains, and brought them before the Emperor Maximian as contemners of the Gods and disturbers of the public peace.‡ As they would not yield either to the threats or the promises of Maximian, he ordered them to be tortured to death; but the hammers

* So at least says Ribadeneira—"Dieu le leur apprit luy-même parfaitement." *Les Fleurs des Vies des Saints*, tom. ii. p. 382.

† *Ribadeneira*, as above.

‡ It is a curious fact, though it seems to have attracted little attention, that the pagans, so tolerant on all other occasions, should on the sudden have become such fierce persecutors of the Christians. Indeed toleration may be said, with that single exception, to have been a marked characteristic of Heathen worship, for the attack upon the Jews was political not religious. While Christian, Brahmin, Jew, and Mahomedan, have all in turn been persecutors, not only of each other, but of any dissentients amongst themselves, the Gods of Rome had no quarrel with those of Greece, nor did the Grecian divinities refuse companionship with the Isis and Osiris of Egypt. ay on the first appearance of Christianity the Romans were far from being disposed to quarrel with the new faith; it was not until long after the crucifixion,—forced upon them by the Jews and much against their will—that they became persecutors. Does not this seem to indicate that Christianity at a very early period had lost sight of the doctrines of its heavenly founder, and by its assuming a stern and fanatical spirit, in place of the love and humility inculcated by him, itself provoked this intolerance?

employed to crush them, recoiled upon their tormentors, the river refused either to drown or to freeze them, for it buoyed up their bodies and from being cold enough to destroy life changed into a comfortable warm bath; and when they were plunged into boiling lead, instead of injuring the intended victims a quantity of the hot metal spurted out into the Prefect's eye, and made him more furious than ever. At length upon the especial prayer of the saints, an angel came and pulled them both uninjured out of the lead, when Rictiovarius in a fit of rage, inspired of course by the devil, jumped in himself and perished miserably. Sharp steel, however, effected in the end what could not be done by any other means. By order of Maximian they were beheaded, and their bodies exposed to the birds and beasts of prey. But though now very sufficiently dead, their miraculous career on earth was not yet over. The birds and beasts, forgetting their usual nature, refused to touch the holy corpses; an old man and his wife were warned by God to carry them off by night; that they might the more easily effect this, the bodies were rendered light by divine interposition; and finally when the aged pair reached the boat with their precious cargo, the bark was supernaturally impelled against wind and current, without the help either of oar or sails, till they reached their own home, where they buried the bodies as decently as they were able. But the reign of Constantine came, and with it also came the reign of the saints; the bodies were disinterred, and first conveyed to Soissons; but finally, being of Rome, they were buried in the church of St. Lawrence in that city.*

St. Simon and St. Jude; *October* 28th. These saints, like St. Swithin, were supposed to be great promoters of wet weather. Brand tells us that in the Runic Calendar

* Those who wish to verify these important facts, should consult Ribadeneira as above.

St. Simon and St. Jude's Day was marked by a ship, on account of their having been fishermen,* though even this emblem may perhaps be connected with their pluvial propensities, of which we find so many scattered indications in our old writers. Thus, in Middleton and Dekkar's Roaring Girl,—

> "Dost thou know her then?
> As well as I know 'twill rain upon
> Simon and Jude's day next."†
>
> "Now a continual Simon and Jude's rain
> Beat all your feathers as flat down as pancakes."‡

ALLHALLOW'S EVE; HALLOW EVEN; HALLOWEEN; HOLY-EVE; NUTCRACK NIGHT.—*October* 31st. This Eve is so called from being the vigil of All Saint's Day, and is the season for a variety of superstitions and other customs. In the north of England many of these are still found to linger. One of the most common is that of diving for apples; or of catching at them with the mouth only, the hands being tied behind, and the apples suspended on one end of a long transverse beam, at the other extremity of which is fixed a lighted candle. The fruit and nuts form the most prominent parts of the evening feast, and from this circumstance the night has obtained one of its names, namely *Nutcrack Night*. Nuts also were employed as one, and perhaps the oldest of the many modes of divination practised at this season, for Hutchinson is quite correct when he says of this eve, that "it seems to retain the celebration of a festival to Pomona, when it is supposed the summer stores are opened on the approach of winter. Divinations and consulting of omens attended all these ceremonies in the practice of the heathen. Hence in the rural sacrifice of nuts

* *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 209.

† Act. I. Scene I., p. 19, edit. 1825, 8vo. London.

‡ Id. p. 25.

propitious omens are sought touching matrimony; if the nuts lie still and burn together, it prognosticates a happy marriage or a hopeful love; if on the contrary they bounce and fly asunder, the sign is unpropitious."* Here again, as in so many instances, the custom may be traced back from an unmeaning frolic to a popish superstition, and from that to a classic rite. "Nuts have a religious import," says the Romish calendar;† and going yet farther back, we find that this is but an echo from the times of paganism. Amongst the Romans it was a custom for the bridegroom to throw nuts about the room that the boys might scramble for them, thereby as some will have it, intimating that the new husband meant henceforth to lay aside the sports of boyhood.‡ That the phrase in time came to signify the assumption of manhood I can easily believe; but the explanation of Pliny,§ though doubtful in itself, seems to point to a

* HUTCHINSON'S NORTHUMBERLAND, vol. ii.—*Ancient Customs*, p. 18.—An appendix to the volume.

† "Nuces in pretio et religiosæ"—as quoted in Brand's Pop. Antiquities, vol. i. p. 212.

‡ Erasmus, when speaking of the phrase *nuces relinquere*, says "translata metaphora, vel a venusta nuptiarum ceremonia in quibus sponsus uxorem ducens nuces spargebat utpote jam pueritiæ renuncians. Ita Catullus in carmine nuptiali:

"Da, puer, properè nuces,
Concubine, nuces da.

Virgilius in Bucol. Eclog. 8.

Sparge, marite nuces."

ADAGIA, *Erasmi et Aliorum*, p. 528, folio. 1643.

§ "The next place to these for bignes the walnuts doe challenge, which they can not claime for their credit and authoritie: and yet they are in some request among other licentious and wanton Fescennine ceremonies at weddings; for lesse they be than pine nuts, if a man consider the grossnesse of the body outwardly; but in proportion thereto they have a much bigger kernel within. Moreover nature hath much graced and honoured these nuts with a peculiar gift she

deeper religious meaning, which even in his day had ceased to be rightly understood. Be this as it may, it is certain that it had a religious import of some kind; and it is no less plain that the Roman Catholics had a similar idea of the nut; hence, as popery faded from the land, the custom which could not be wholly rooted out, changed in part its character and became a mere rustic superstition.

In some instances we find observances peculiar to certain districts, or even limited to a particular county. Thus at Rippon in Yorkshire, the good women make a cake for every one in the family, whence this eve is by them often called *Cake-Night*;* and a similar custom prevails in Warwickshire;† but it does not seem to have existed in many parts of England, though we find it in St. Kilda, where the inhabitants used to make "a large cake in form of a triangle furrowed round, and it must be all eaten that night."‡ From the same authority we learn that the inhabitants of *Lewis*, one of the western islands of Scotland, "had an antient custom to sacrifice to a sea-god, called Shony, at Hallow-tide, in the manner following: the inhabitants round the island came to the church of St. Mulvay, having each man his provision along with him; every family furnished a peck of malt, and this was brewed into ale; one of their number was

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hath endued them with, namely a double robe wherewith they are clad; the first is a tender and soft husk; the next, a hard and wooddy shell, which is the cause that at mariages they serve for religious ceremonies, resembling the manifold tunicles and membranes wherein the infant is lapped and enfolded within the womb." PLINIE'S NATURAL HISTORY, by *Philemon Holland*, vol. i. chap. 22, p. 445.

* See GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE for August 1790, vol. lx. p. 719.

† BRAND, vol i. p. 217.

‡ MARTIN'S WESTERN ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND, p. 287, 8vo. London, 1716.

picked out to wade into the sea up to the middle, and carrying a cup of ale in his hand, standing still in that posture, cried out with a loud voice, saying, *Shony, I give you this cup of ale, hoping that you'll be so kind as to send us plenty of sea-ware, for inriching our ground the ensuing year;* and so threw the cup of ale into the sea. This was performed in the night-time. At his return to land, they all went to church, where there was a candle burning upon the altar; and then standing silent for a little time, one of them gave a signal, at which the candle was put out, and immediately all of them went to the fields, where they fell a drinking their ale, and spent the remainder of the night in dancing and singing."*

In olden times, however, *seed-cakes* were in general use, but with a different object, the purpose seeming to be a sacrifice to the rural deities. Thus Tusser says,

"Wife, sometime this weeke, if the wether hold cleere,
An end of wheat-sowing we make for this yeare;
Remember you therefore, though I do it not,
The *Seed-Cake*, the pasties, and furmetie-pot."†

And again Bishop Kennet tells us, "it was an old English custom to provide *seed-cakes* to entertain the ploughmen after the season of sowing wheat, which was commonly on *All Saints' Night*,"‡—a curious passage as showing that the wheat at one time was sown at a much earlier part of the year than it is now a-days.

In Ireland the Druids, who held this season as one of their great festivals, used to light up sacrificial fires, though in more modern times the Irish have dropt the fires and substituted candles. Upon the subject of this eve Vallancy has given us much curious information.

* MARTIN'S WESTERN ISLANDS, p. 28.

† Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandrie, fol. 75, b. quarto, London, 1580.

‡ MS.—Lansdowne Cat., Brit. Mus., p. 12, 1039. Plut. 79, f.

Amongst other things, he says, "On the Oidhche Shamhna" (by the aspiration of the consonants pronounced Ee Owna) "or Vigil of Saman, the peasants in Ireland assemble with sticks and clubs (the emblems of laceration) going from house to house, collecting money, bread-cake, butter, cheese, eggs, &c. for the feast, repeating verses in honour of the solemnity, demanding preparations for the festival in the name of St. Colomb Kill, desiring them to lay aside the *fatted calf* and to bring forth the *black sheep*.* The good women are employed in making the griddle-cake† and candles; these last are sent from house to house in the vicinity, and are lighted up on the(Saman)

* This was preparatory to the sacrifice of the black-sheep on the day following to *Saman*, *Samhan*, or *Baal-Samhan*, who was now supposed to call the souls to judgment; and, according to their previous conduct while connected with the body, assigned to them a future life either in the brute or human species. Hence he was also called BALSAB, *bal* signifying "lord," and *saó* "death." In all this we have another striking proof of the eastern origin of druidism, for both the Druids and Pythagoras, strictly agreeing in this article of faith, they were much more likely to have borrowed from one common source in the east than from each other. As to the sacrifice of *black sheep*, that ceremony is also mentioned by Virgil:

"Post ubi nona suos Aurora induxerat ortus
Inferias Orphæi lethæa papavera mittes,
Placatam Eurydicen vitulâ venerabere cæsa,
Et *nigram* mactatis *ovem* lucumque revises."

Georg. L. iv. 546.

It is hardly necessary to add that if due presents were made to the priest of Balsab he allowed himself to be propitiated, and forgave the soul its sins in consideration of the bounty shown towards his servants. Most assuredly there is nothing new under the sun.

† *Griddle* is a provincial word, particularly used in Devonshire, signifying, a gridiron. A *griddle-cake* is a cake baked, or perhaps we should rather say, toasted, on irons over the fire. It is still to be seen in the cottages of the peasants in the Western parts of England, while in Surrey it is superseded by the *pot-cake*, that is to say, a cake baked in a large iron sauce-pan.

next day, before which they pray, or are supposed to pray, for the departed soul of the donor. Every house abounds in the best viands they can afford; apples and nuts are devoured in abundance; the nut-shells are burnt, and from the ashes many strange things are foretold; cabbages are torn up by the root; hemp-seed is sown by the maidens, and they believe that if they look back they will see the apparition of the man intended for their future spouse; they hang a smock before the fire on the close of the feast, and sit up all night, concealed in a corner of the room, convinced that his apparition will come down the chimney, and turn the smock; they throw a ball of yarn out of the window, and wind it on the reel within, convinced that if they repeat the Pater-Noster backwards, and look at the ball of yarn without, they will then also see his *sith** or apparition; they dip for apples in a tub of water, and endeavour to bring one up in the mouth; they suspend a cord with a cross stick, with apples at one point and candles lighted at the other, and endeavour to catch the apple, while it is in circular motion, in the mouth. These and many other superstitions, the remains of druidism, are observed on this holiday, which will never be eradicated while the name of Saman is permitted to remain."†

* *Sith* is from the Hebrew *Sheth*, a demon. Bythner in his *Clavis Linguæ Sanctæ*, tells us that the German and Polish Jews, relying upon the ignorance of the Christians, used sarcastically to salute them with *Sheth wilkome*, that is "hail, devil, or"—what I must not translate; for the benefit however of the curious I give the original as quoted by Vallancy, (vol. iii. p. 460.)—"Hæc vox Judæis frequens est in ore, nam sub specie amicæ salutationis obvios Christianos in Polonia et Germania sarcasticè et impiè compellant, *Sheth wilkome*, i.e. *podex*, *vel dæmon*, *salve*; SHETH enim est DÆMON."

† *Vallancy*, COLLECTANEA DE REBUS HIBERNICIS, vol. iii. p. 459. 8vo. Dublin, 1786.

In Scotland they "set up bon-fires in every village. When the bon-fire is consumed, the ashes are carefully collected into the form of a circle. There is a stone put in near the circumference for every person of the several families interested in the bon-fire; and whatever stone is moved out of its place, or injured before the next morning, the person represented by the stone is devoted, or *fey*, and is supposed not to live twelvemonths from that day. The people received the consecrated fire from the Druid priests, which was supposed to continue for a year."*

We have similar traces of this fire worship in North Wales, where it is the custom on Allhallow Even to kindle a large fire, under the name of *Coel Coeth*, in the most conspicuous place near each house, and keep it up in the night for about an hour. When the fire is almost extinguished every one flings into the ashes a white stone, which he has previously marked, and, having said their prayers as they pace around the embers, they all go to bed. The first thing in the morning they search for the stones, it being their fixed belief that if any one be missing the person to whom it belongs will die before All Saint's Eve can come round again.†

In England also we find some faint traces of the same custom. Thus Sir W. Dugdale tells us, "On All-Hallow Even the master of the family anciently used to carry a bunch of straw, fired, about his corne, saying:

> Fire and red low
> Light on my teen low."‡

* Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xi. p. 621.

† See Pennant's MS., as quoted by Brand.

‡ Sir W. Dugdale's Life and Diary. *Edited by W. Hamper*, p. 104. 4to. Lond. 1827. This passage occurs in the Diary, but

It would seem moreover that the ringing of bells was a usual custom on Hallowe'en in the time of popery, greatly to the annoyance of Archbishop Cranmer, and others desirous of a church-reformation. Earnest were the endeavours of this prelate with his stiff-necked master, Henry, to abolish such vanities, as he called them; and at length "he prevailed with the king to resolve to have the roods in every church pulled down and *the accustomed ringing on All-hallow night suppressed.*"*

Burns in his notes upon Halloween has given a minute account of the superstitions practised by the Scotish peasantry, and though familiar to most readers these details would hardly seem complete without them.

1. "The first ceremony of Halloween is pulling each a *stock*, or plant of kail. They must go out hand in hand, with eyes shut, and pull the first they meet with;

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obscure as it is, the editor has not thought proper to offer any explanation. In the first line, *low* is evidently used in its provincial meaning of *flame;* and, taking *teen* in its now obsolete, but once common, signification of "grief, damage," the whole may stand for an invocation to fire—or, symbolically, to the sun—to keep off ill, and prosper the growing crops. But the passage is most probably corrupt.

* MEMORIALS OF CRANMER; by *Strype*, p. 442. folio. Lond. 1694. In all probability Strype drew his information from the fountain-head, namely from the *Draught of a letter which the King was to send to Cranmer against some superstitious practices.* A copy of this has been given by Burnet in his COLLECTION OF RECORDS part ii. book i. p. 237 (*History of the Reformation*), and in it the king states that he has been moved by the Archbishop and other learned men to abolish the "ringing of bells all the night long upon All-hallow-day at night," as the customs of many other vigils have been abolished "for the superstition, and other enormities and abuses of the same," and that in consequence he orders that there shall be "no watching nor ringing, but as be commonly used upon other holy days at night."

its being big or little, straight or crooked, is prophetic of the size and shape of the grand object of all their spells—the husband or wife. If any *yird*, or earth stick to the root, that is *tocher*, or fortune; and the taste of the *custoc*, that is the heart of the stem, is indicative of the natural temper and disposition. Lastly the stems, or—to give them their ordinary appellation—the *runts*, are placed somewhere above the head of the door; and the christian names of the people, whom chance brings into the house, are according to the priority of placing the *runts*, the names in question.

2. They go to the barn-yard, and pull each at three several times a stalk of oats. If the third stalk wants the *top-pickle*, the party in question will come to the marriage bed any thing but a maid.

3. Burning the nuts is a famous charm. They name the lad and lass to each particular nut as they lay them in the fire, and accordingly as they burn quietly together, or start from beside one another, the course and issue of the courtship will be.

4. Steal out all alone to the *kiln*, and darkling throw into the *pot* a clue of blue yarn; wind it in a new clue off the old one; and towards the latter end, something will hold the thread; demand, "*who hauds?*" i.e. who holds?—an answer will be returned from the kiln-pot, by naming the christian and surname of your future spouse.

5. Take a candle, and go alone to a looking-glass; eat an apple before it, and some traditions say you should comb your hair all the time; the face of your conjugal companion to be will be seen in the glass, as if peeping over your shoulder.

6. Steal out unperceived and sow a handful of hemp-seed, harrowing it with any thing you can conveniently draw after you. Repeat now and then, "hemp-seed

I sow thee; hemp-seed, I sow thee; and him (or her) that is to be my true love, come after me, and pou thee." Look over your left shoulder, and you will see the appearance of the person invoked, in the attitude of pulling hemp. Some traditions say, "come after me, and shaw thee," that is, show thyself, in which case it simply appears. Others omit the harrowing, and say, "come after me and harrow thee."

7. *To win three wechts o'naething.*—This charm must likewise be performed unperceived and alone. You go to the barn, and open both doors, taking them off the hinges if possible; for there is danger that the being about to appear may shut the doors and do you some mischief. Then take that instrument used in winnowing the corn, which in our country dialect is called a *wecht;* and go through all the attitudes of letting down corn against the wind. Repeat it three times; and the third time an apparition will pass through the barn, in at the windy door, and out at the other, having both the figure in question, and the appearance or retinue marking the employment or station in life.

8. Take an opportunity of going unnoticed to a *bear-stack,* and fathom it three times round. The last fathom of the last time, you will catch in your arms the appearance of your future conjugal yoke-fellow.

9. You go out, one or more,—for this is a social spell—to a south running spring or rivulet, where three lairds' lands meet, and dip your left shirt sleeve. Go to bed in sight of a fire, and hang your wet sleeve before it to dry. Lie awake; and sometime near midnight an apparition, having the exact figure of the grand object in question, will come and turn the sleeve, as if to dry the other side of it.

10. Take three dishes; put clean water in one, foul water in another, leave the third empty; blindfold a

person, and lead him to the hearth where the dishes are ranged; he (or she) dips the left hand; if by chance in the clean water, the future husband or wife will come to the bar of matrimony a maid; if in the foul, a widow: if in the empty dish, it foretells with equal certainty no marriage at all. It is repeated three times, and every time the arrangement of the dishes is altered."

CUSTOM OF THE FLITCH OF BACON.

This custom has passed into a proverb and become the subject both of play and ballad, but its real nature does not seem to be well understood by those, who are most in the habit of alluding to it. In general it is supposed to attach itself exclusively to Dunmow. This however is no more than a popular error. We know from authentic records that it prevailed also at Tutbury in Staffordshire, and I can not help suspecting that a more extended and accurate research would prove that it existed in many other localities, and was itself but the shadow of some older custom. Sir William Dugdale* indeed fancies that he has found the source of it so far as Tutbury is concerned, and he thus quaintly describes it from an ancient parchment roll in English of the time of King Henry VIII, which however was not the original, having been translated from a roll in French, belonging to the age of King Edward III. The person, of whom he is speaking, is Sir Philip de Somerville, who held several manors of the Earl of Leicester, then Lord of the manor of Tutbury "by two small fees; that is to say,

* Dugdale's Baronage of England, vol. ii, p. 106, folio, London, 1675.

when other tenants pay for reliefe,* one whole knight's fee, one hundred shillings, he, the said Sir Philip, shall pay but fifty shillings; and when escuage† is assessed throghe owtt the lande, or to ayde for to make th'eldest

* This word is thus explained by Blount, "a feudatory or beneficiary estate in lands was at first granted only for life, and after the death of the vassall it returned to the chief lord, for which reason it was called *feudum caducum*, viz., fallen to the Lord by the death of the tenant; afterwards, these feudatory estates being turned into an inheritance by the connivance and assent of the chief Lord, when the possessor of such an estate died, it was called *hæreditas caduca*, i.e. it was fallen to the chief Lord, to whom the heir having paid a certain sum of money he did then *relevare hæreditatem caducam* out of his hands; and the money thus paid was called a *relief*. This must be understood after the Conquest, for in the time of the Saxons there were no *reliefs*, but *heriots* paid to the Lord at the death of his tenant, which in those days were horses, arms, &c., and such tributes could not be exacted of the English immediately after the Conquest, for they were deprived of both by the Normans; and instead thereof in many places the payment of certain sums of money was substituted, which they called a *relief*, and which continues to this day." LAW DICTIONARY, sub voce, fol. Lond. 1717.

† "ESCUAGE (Scutagium, from the Fr. *Escu*, i.e. a Buckler or Shield) signifies a kind of knight's service, called service of the shield; the tenant holding by it was bound to follow his Lord into the Scotish or Welsh wars at his own charge, which is taken away and discharged by act of parliament, 12 Car. II, cap. 24. He, who held a whole knight's fee, was bound to serve with horse and arms for forty days; and he, who held half a knight's fee, was to serve twenty days. *Escuage* also is sometimes taken for that duty or payment, which they, who held lands under this tenure, were bound to make to the Lord, when they neither went themselves to the wars, nor provided one in their place. *Escuage* is sometimes called a reasonable aid, which was demanded by the Lord of his tenants who held lands in *Knights-service*, viz., 'concesserunt Domino Regi ad maritandam filiam suam de omnibus qui tenent de Domino Rege in capite de singulis scutis 20 solidos solvendos' (Matt. Paris, anno 1242). It was an uncertain duty 'till it was known how much money the parliament would raise; but *Escuage certain* is called *Socage*." Blount's LAW DICTIONARY, sub voce.

sonne of the Lord, knyght; or for to marrye the eldest daughter of the Lord, the said Sir Philip shall pay bott the motye* of it that other shall pay.

Neverthelesse, the said Sir Philip shall fynde, meyntienge,† and susteigne, one bacon flyke,‡ hanging in his hall at Whichenoure,§ redy arrayede all times of the yere, bott in Lent; to be given to everyche mane, or womane married, after the day and the yere of their mariage be passed; and to be gyven to everyche mane of religion, archbishop, bishop, prior, or other religious; and to everyche preest, after the yere and day of their profession finished, or of their dignity reseyved in forme followyng; whensoever that ony suche byfore named wylle come for to enquire for the baconne, in their own persone, or by any other for them, they shall come to the baillyfe, or to the porter, of the Lordship of Whichnoure, and shall say to them in the manere as ensewethe;

'Bayliffe, or porter, I doo you to knowe; that I am come for myself (or, if he be come for any other, shewing for whome) to demaunde‖ one Bacon flyke, hanging in the halle of the Lord of Whichenoure after forme thereunto belongyng.'

After which relacioun, the baillyffe or porter shall

* i.e. Moiety.

† i.e. Maintain.

‡ i.e. Flitch.

§ *Whichnour*, *Whichnor*, *Wichnor*, or *Wichnoure*, as it is variously spelled, is a small village, of Staffordshire, situated in the north division of the hundred of Offlow and deanry of Tamworth, on the antient Rikenhild street, about half way between Burton and Lichfield. It is so called from its situation on a fine eminence on the north side of the river, Trent, *wic* in the Saxon signifying a village or dwelling place, and *orra*, or *orre*, a bank. See *Shaw's Hist. of Staffordshire*, vol. i, p. 118.

‖ In the folio of 1675 it is printed, I presume by a blunder of the compositor "(if he be come for any other shewing for whom demaunde one Bacon," &c., vol. ii, p. 107.

assign a day to him, upon promyse by his feythe to retourne; and wyth him to bryng tweyne of his neighbours. And in the meyne time, the said Bailliffe shall take with him tweyne of the freeholders of the Lordship of Whichenoore; and they three shall go to the manoir of Rudlowe belongynge to Robert Knyhtleye, and there shall somon the forseid Knyghtleye or his baillyffe, commanding him to be ready at Whichenoore the day appoynted, at pryme of the day, withe his caryage; that is to say, a horse and a sadylle, a sakke and a pryke* for to convey and carye the said baconne and corne a journey owtt of the countee of Stafford at his costages.† And then the sayd baillyffe‡ shall with the sayd freeholders somone all the tenaunts of the said manoir to be ready at the day appoynted at Whichenoore for to doo and perform the services which they owe to the baconne. And at the day assign'd, all such as owe services to the baconne, shall be ready at the gatte of the manoir of whichenoure, frome the sonne-rysinge to none, attend-

* A *pryke* signifies a spur, from its having at one time consisted of a single point. (See BLOUNT'S FRAGMENTA ANTIQUITATIS, by Beckwith, p. 132). Hence the scriptural phrase of "it is hard to kick against the pricks," which indeed had been said by Terence at least a hundred and eighty years before the time of the apostles:

"Nam quæ inscitia est
Adversum stimulum calces."

Terentii Phormio, Act 1, Sc. 2, L. 27.

And hence too the use of the word in our old writers for *riding hastily*; as in Spenser's FAIRY QUEEN:

"A gentle knight was pricking on the plain."

† This word is explained by Minshew to mean *cost*, and is of very frequent occurrence in Dugdale, as well as in other of our older writers.

‡ The reader, who is unused to our old authors, must not be surprized at the looseness of the orthography, the same word being spelt in half a dozen different ways; it is more or less the case with all of hem.

yng and awatyng for the comyng of hym that fetcheth the baconne. And when he is comyn, there shall be delivered to him and hys felowys chapeletts, and to all those whiche shall be there to do their services deue to the baconne; and they shall leid the seid demandant wythe trompes and tabours and other maner of mynstralseye to the halle dore, where he shall fynde the Lord of Wychenoore or his steward, ready to deliver the baconne in this manere. He shall enquere of hym, whiche demandeth the baconne, yf he have brought tweyn of hys neybors with hym. Whiche must answere, 'they be here redy.' And then the steward shall cause thies two neighbours to swere yf the seid demandaunt be a weddyt man; or have be a man weddyt; and yf sythe his marriage one yere and a day be passed; and yf he be a freeman or a villeyn.

And yf his seid neighbours make othe that he hath for hym all thies three poynts rehersed; then shall the baconne be take downe, and broghte to the halle-dore; and shall there be layd upon one half a quarter of wheatte, and upon other of rye. And he that demandeth the baconne shall kneel upon his knee; and shall holde his right hande upon a booke, which booke shall be layde above the baconne and the corne; and shall make othe in this manere.

'Here ye, Sir Philippe de Somervile, Lord of Whichenoore, mayntener and gyver of this baconne,—that I, A sithe I wedded B my wife, and sythe I hadde hyr in my keping and at my wylle by a yere and a day, after our mariage, I wold not have chaunged for none other, farer ne fowler, rycher ne pourer, ne for none other descended of gretter lynage, slepyng ne wakyng, at noo time. And yf the seid B were sole, and I sole, I wolde take her to be my wyfe before alle the wymen of the worlde, of what condiciones soever they be, good or evylle;

as helpe me God and his seyntis, and this fleshe and all fleshes.'

And hys neighbors shall make othe that they trust veraly he hath said truly. And yff it be founde by his neighbours, before named, that he be a freeman, there shall be delyvered to him half a quarter of wheate and a cheese. And yf he be a villeyn, he shall have half a quarter of rye wythoutte cheese. And then shall Knyghtley, the Lord of Rudlowe, be called for, to carrye all thies thynges to fore rehersed. And the said corne shall be layd upon one horse, and the baconne above ytt; and he to whom the baconne apperteigneth, shall ascend upon his horse, and shall take the cheese before hym, yf he have a horse; and yf he have none, the Lord of Whichenover shall cause him to have one horse and sadyll, to* such time as he be passed hys Lordshippe; and so shalle they departe the manoir of Whichenovre with the corne and the baconne tofore hym that hath wonne itt, with trompets, tabouretts, and other manere of mynstralce. And all the free tenants of Winchenovre shall conduct hym to* (he) be passed the lordship of Whichenovre. And then shall all they retorne, except hym to whom apperteigneth to make the carryage and journey wythowtt the countye of Stafforde at the costys of his Lord of Whichenovre.

And yff the said Robert Knighteley do not cause the baconne and corne to be conveyed as is rehersed, the Lord of Whychenovre shall do it be carryed, and shall dystreigne the said Robert Knyghteley for his defaulte, for one hundred shyllings, and shall kepe the distres, so taken, irreplevisable."

It is not a little singular that a custom of the same kind in substance, though differing in the details, should have existed also at the priory of Dunmow, in Essex, whence

* i.e. till.

arises the old saying "that he which repents him not of his marriage, either sleeping or waking in a year and a day, may lawfully go to Dunmow and fetch a gammon of bacon away." It is unknown when or with whom the custom originated, but that it did exist there can be no doubt whatever. In Blount we read, "I have enquired of the manner of it, and can learne no more but that it continued untill the dissolution of that house,* as also the abbies. And that the party, or pilgrim for bacon was to take his oath before prior, and convent, and the whole town, humbly kneeling in the churchyard upon two hard-pointed stones, which stones some say are there yet to be seen in the prior's church-yard; his oath was ministred with such long process, and such solemne singing over him, that doubtless must make his pilgrimage (as I may terme it) painfull; after, he was taken up upon men's shoulders, and carried, first about the priory churchyard, and after through the town with all the fryers and brethren, and all the townsfolke, young and old, following him with shouts and acclamations, with his bacon borne before him, and in such manner (as I have heard) was sent home with his bacon; of which I find that some had a gammon, and others a flecke, or a flitch; for proof whereof I have, from the records of the house found the names of three several persons that at several times had it." †

* It continued long after, as both Blount and his editor, Beckwith, must have known, since, in the very document they are quoting from, the fact is distinctly recorded. At all events we find the custom existing so late as the June of 1750, a tolerably long date from "the dissolution of that house," or of any other priory.

† *Blount's Fragmenta Antiquitatis.*—By Beckwith, p. 520, 4to. London. 1815. He would seem by the spelling of his verses to have quoted from an earlier copy than the historian, Morant, but it is far from being so correct.

The hard-pointed stones, on which the claimant was forced to kneel, while attesting his conjugal felicity, were bad enough in all reason, and plainly shewed the Lord of the Manor was willing to save his bacon if possible; but the oath was of a nature, one would have thought, to preclude any husband of three weeks standing from the trial, providing only he had the least conscience; it was ten times harder of digestion than that which we have already seen propounded to the candidates for the flitch at Whichenovre. It is thus given by Morant in his History of Essex.*

> "You shall swear by custom of confession,
> That you ne'er made nuptial transgression;
> Nor since you were married man and wife
> By household brawls or contentious strife,
> Or otherwise in bed, or at board,
> Offended each other in deed or in word;
> Or since the parish-clerk said amen
> Wished yourselves unmarried again;
> Or in a twelve-month and a day
> Repented not in thought any way,
> But continued true in thought and desire,
> As when you joined hands in holy quire.
> If to these conditions, without all fear
> Of your own accord you will freely swear,
> A whole gammon of bacon you shall receive,
> And bear it hence with love and good leave;
> For this is our custom at Dunmow well known,
> Though the pleasure be ours, the bacon's your own."

The last time this premium on conjugal love and fidelity was ever received was on the 20th of June, 1750, by John Shakeshanks, wool-comber and Anne his wife, of Wethersfield.

* P. 429, Vol. ii, folio, Lond. 1768.

THE MONTHS—NOVEMBER.

November like the two preceding months has its name without alteration from the Latin, which was so called because reckoning from March it was the ninth month of the year. Among our Saxon ancestors it had the name of *Wint-monath,** that is *Wind-month,—wint* being the Saxon word for wind—on account of the prevalence of high winds at this season; and *Blot-monath,* i.e., *Blood-month,* the *month of immolations,*—for *blot* means *blood,*—because the cattle, which they now killed in abundance for their winter store, were dedicated to their Gods;† or, what seems yet more probable, from the quantity of blood that was shed at this season in the slaughter of so many animals.

Our Floral record must here cease, nothing remaining either to field or garden but a few fungi and other cryptogamia. Even the Fauna ceases to contain any thing of general interest. "The females and young of the Brown or Norway Rat now leave their holes at the sides of ponds and rivers, to which they had betaken themselves in the spring, and repair to barns, outhouses, cornstacks, and dwellings. The males are said to remain

* *Verstegan's Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, p. 49, Edit. 1655.

† "Blumtonath, mensis immolationum, quod in eo pecora, quæ occisuri erant, Diis suis voverent." Bedæ Opera.—*De Temporum Ratione.* Cap. xiii. tom. ii. p. 68.

in their holes, having laid up a winter-store of acorns, The black rats have become scarce."*

At this period of the year the rooks are observed to keep very good hours. When the evenings are dark, but mild and comparatively calm, they may be seen returning home between three and four o'clock, in parties of several hundreds. On such occasions they are generally attended by their friends and kinsmen, the jackdaws; sometimes too the starlings will join them in the course of the day, and the three may be seen feeding amicably together.

The first day of November was dedicated, as Vallancey informs us, to the angel presiding over fruit, seeds, &c., "and was therefore named *La Mas Ubhal*, that is, the day of the apple fruit; and being pronounced *Lamasool*, the English have corrupted the name to *Lambswool*, a name they give to a composition made on this eve (Allhallow's Eve) of roasted apples, sugar, and ale."†

All Saints Day; Omnium Sanctorum Festum; *November* 1st.—There can be little doubt as to the origin of this observance, though there is some obscurity in regard to the Pantheon, from which it was derived. As the Gods of Rome were too numerous to be contained in one temple, Agrippa‡ erected the Pantheon, and so called it, as some say, because he held the images of Mars and Venus that were placed therein to be of themselves equivalent to all the Gods; or, as others explain it, because the temple being circular it appeared more like Heaven, and therefore more like the habitation of all the deities;

* *Forster's Perennial Calendar.*

† Vallancey, Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis, vol. iii., p. 449—*All Hallow Eve.* Ingenious as this derivation may appear, I must confess that it seems to me to be very questionable.

‡ Beda indeed maintains, in defiance of Dion's authority and of the inscription still remaining on the walls, that it was built by Domitian — M. Agrippa L. F. Consul Tertium fecit.—See *Bedæ Martyrologia*, D. Calend. Novemb. for the statement in regard to Domitian.

while some again assert that it was dedicated to Cybele the mother of the Gods; and Pliny affirms that it was sacred to Jupiter the Avenger. However this may be, it bore a comprehensive name that seems to include in some way or another all the Gods, or,—as Bede not very civilly terms it,—all the devils; and hence, at the instigation of Pope Boniface, the Emperor Phocas ordered the temple to be purified of its idolatrous dregs, and as it had before been dedicated to all the Gods of Heathenism, it should now be made sacred to all the Saints of Christianity as well as to the Virgin Mary,* and this service therein to be daily celebrated. Gregory the Fourth however at a later period limited the festival to the first of November, and excluded the Virgin Mary from any share in it.

The Golden Legend has wonderfully improved on the original story, the substance of it being this; the Romans, having conquered all the world, "they made a ryght grete temple, and sette theyr ydolle in the mydle. And all about this ydolle they sette the false ymage of all the provynces, so that all the ymages behelde ryght th' ydolle of Rome; and it was ordeyned by arte of the devell that whan a provynce shold rebelle ageynst the Romans, th' ymage of that provynce sholde tourne his back to th' ydolle of Rome, lyke as in shewynge that it departed fro the sygnorye of Rome.† And thenne anone

* "Festivitas Omnium Sanctorum; petente namque Papa Bonifacio, jussit Phocas, imperator, in veteri fano, quod Pantheon vocabatur, et a Domitiano prius factum erat, ablatis idolatriæ sordibus, ecclesiam beatæ semper Virginis Mariæ et omnium fieri martyrū; ut ubi quōdam omnium nō deorum sed dæmonum cultus agebatur, ibi deinceps omnium fieret memoria Sanctorum." BEDÆ MARTYROLOGIUM. D. Calend. Novemb.

† This passage is most corruptly given in Julyan Notary's edition of 1513, from which I first made my extract. The errors have been corrected and the omissions supplied from Caxton's folio, published at Westmestre, 1483.

the Romayns wolde brynge grete puyssaunce in to that provynce, and there subdued it to theyr seygnorye."* But even this temple in the long run proved insufficient for the growing family of the Gods, whereupon the Romans built a second much larger, "and more for to deceive the people, the bysshops of th' idollis fayned that it had been comanded to theym of Cybele, a goddesse that is called moder of goddes. And they called thys temple, Pãtheon, wyche is as moche to saye as, all goddes—of *pan*, that is, *alle;* and *theos*, that is, God. And by cause they wolde have victory of all the people, therefore they made a grete temple to all the sones of the Cybele"—And at last the Romans made a pyne† of copper and gilt, and sette it in a ryght hyghe place. And it is sayde all the provynces were entaylled and graven merveyllously wythin that pyne, so that all they that came to Rome might see in that pyne in what part his province was."‡ But Pope Boniface, A.D., 605, persuaded the Emperor Focas to turn out the idols, and "the forthe Kalendas of Maye" (i.e., April the 28th) "he hallowed it in th' honour of our lady saynt marye, and of alle the martyrs, and callyd it saynt marye at martyrs, whyche now is called sãcta marya rotunda—that is, saynt marye the roũde."§ As however at this season of the year it was difficult to find sufficient food for the numerous pilgrims and visitors, Pope Gregory "establyshed

* GOLDEN LEGEND—History of Allhallowen, folio 197.

† *Pyne*, is the *pina*, or *pinna*, of the Romans, a sort of shell-fish, in which the pearl is found, but here the shell itself is to be understood. In the HISTORIA LOMBARDICA, the Latin original of the *Golden Legend*, we read "Denique romani pinã eneã et deauratã fabricãt, et in summitate collocant." OPUS AUREUM—*De Omnibus Sanctis*, folio 122). Now old Philemon translates the PINNA of Pliny by *pinna*—"In Acarnania there is a little cockle called *Pinna*, (i.e, a nacre) which engendreth such"—that is to say, engendreth pearls. See his Ninth Book of Pliny, chap. XXXV., p. 256, vol. I.

‡ GOLDEN LEGEND.—History of Allhallowen, folio 197. § Idem.

this feste to be in the kalendas of November,"—that is to say, on the first of November, where we now find it.

The Welsh used to consider this day as the conclusion of the summer, and celebrated it with bon-fires and other ceremonies.* In many parts of England too they crack nuts and bob for apples as upon the previous vigil; and at one time it was the popular belief that if the sun flung his rays brightly over the tops of the woods on All Saints' Day, the pigs would be unusually fat and large that year.†

ALL SOULS, OR COMMEMORATION OF ALL THE DEPARTED FAITHFUL; *November 2nd.*—The custom of sacrificing to the manes, or souls, of the dead was an old Roman rite, borrowed from the Greeks, and so common as scarcely to stand in need of argument or illustration.‡ This Commemoration would seem to be precisely the same in substance and not so very much differing even in form; and sprinkling with holy water as a means of purification is clearly of pagan origin.§ Various times and causes have

* W. OWEN PUGHE'S TRANSLATIONS OF THE HEROIC ELEGIES OF LLYWARCH HEN, Lond. 1792.

† I believe I am correct in saying the superstition prevailed in this country; it certainly did among the Danes—"Quod si hoc die per sylvarum cacumina sol radios suos diffuderit, amplissimam porcorum futuram dicunt saginam." FASTI DANICI. ab *Olao Wormio*, lib. ii. cap. ix.

‡ "At jam pridem increbuerat mos hic apud veteres parentādi ad sepulchrū, quod indicat M. Tullius in prima Philippica, dicens—ubi cujus sepulchrum nusquam extet ibi parentetur et publice supplicetur." —POLYD. VERGILIUS, *De Invent. Rerum.* Lib. 6.—Cap. 9. Hence perhaps arose the expiatory office called Februa, which lasted for twelve days.

§ "Idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda,
Spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivæ,
Lustravitque viros."
V. P. VIRGILII MAR. ÆNEIDOS, lib. vi. v. 229.

"A verdant branch of olive in his hands,
He thrice waves round to purify the bands;
Slow as he pass'd, the lustral water threw."
RING'S VIRGIL, v. 330.

been assigned for the introduction of such a ceremony into the Roman Catholic Church. Some accounts attribute it to Pope Boniface the Fourth; but, if we may believe Hospinian, it arose entirely at the instigation of the Devil, who showed the porter of St. Peter's Church a vision of the departed souls in Purgatory, where a few seemed to be very much at their ease, while others were poor and wretched, and begging for assistance. The angel, who acted as cicerone to the dreamer, informed him that the fortunate souls were those whom their friends prayed for, while their less successful companions were those who were left without any such assistance.*

Another story is "that in Cecylle (Sicily) in the yle of Vulcan, Saynt Odylle herde the voys and the howlynge of devylles, wyche complayned strongly by cause that the soules of them that were dede were taken away fro theyr hondes by almesse and by prayers; and therefore he ordeyned that the feest and remembraunce of theym that ben departed out of this worlde sholde be made and holden in al monasteryes the daye after the fest of Halowen, the whyche thynge was approvyd after of alle holy

* "Occasionem dedit diabolica quædam illusio. Nam anno sequente institutionem Festi Omnium Sanctorum, custos ille in ecclesia S. Petri Romæ post visionem illam de qua in priore festo diximus, ad alium locum et utriusque sexus homines ductus ab angelo, alios in stratis aureis, alios in mensis gaudentes diversis deliciis, alios nudos et inopes auxilium mendicantes ei ostendit. Dixit autem hunc locum Purgatorium esse; abundantes verò animas illas esse, quibus ab amicis per multa suffragia subveniretur, egentes verò esse quorum cura in terris nulla haberetur. Tandem mandavit angelus, ut ista omnia summo pontifici intimaret, qui tunc erat Bonifacius 4, circa annos Christi 611, ut post festum Omnium Sanctorum diem statueret Omnium Animarum, *ut saltem generalia suffragia pro illis die illa fierent, qui specialia habere nequirent.*" De Orig. Festorum Christ. fol. 144. Now this is the very counterpart of the Roman custom, as we find it in Cicero—it was done that those who were too poor for special prayers, might be prayed for generally—"ut cujus sepulchrum nusquam extet ubi parentetur, ei publicè supplicetur."

chyrche."* To be sure the authority of the Golden Legend, from which this has been quoted, is not of the very highest order; but then we have a similar tale, with even more minuteness of circumstance, related by Damian, the Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia. He tells us how a certain native of Rodez, or Rhodez,† returning from Jerusalem, sought shelter in a storm at an island or rock on the Sicilian coast, where he fell in with a holy hermit. In the course of their conversation, the latter enquired if he knew Odilo, the Abbot of Clugny? To this the guest answered that he knew him well, and demanding in his turn the motive for such a question, his host said, that in the country close by was the habitation of the damned; but that he often heard the fiends howling and complaining that the souls were snatched away from them by alms and the prayers of holy men; above all, the Abbot of Clugny and his monks were particularly active in defrauding them of their prey; "wherefore," continued the hermit, "I solemnly adjure you to carry these tidings to the Abbot, and entreat him to persist in the good work." On his return home, the man obeyed this injunction; and Saint Odilo,—for in good time he was sainted—appointed the festival of *All Souls*, which was afterwards generally adopted by the church.‡

* Golden Legend. *Commemoration of All Souls*, fol. 200.

† *Rhodez* is an inland town in the south of France, on an eminence near the Aveyron. It was the capital of the small *Province of Rovergue*, as it was formerly called, but which is now known as the *Department of the Aveyron*. It is the See of a Bishop.

‡ Sancti Petri Damiani Opera, p. 198, folio. Parisiis, 1738.—Damian, who was born of poor parents at Ravenna, somewhere about the year 988, has left us two large folios, replete with the miraculous, and yet useful for the insight it affords us into the ecclesiastical history of the eleventh century. I can not say much in favour of his prose Latin; but his poetry, considering it only as monkish rhyme, is graceful and full of pleasing images. The following specimen from his

This idea of Ætna and Vesuvius being a vomitory of hell was at one time a received article of Christian faith;

Gloria Paradisi may enable the reader to judge how far this opinion is correct.

"Hyems horrens, æstas torrens,
Illic nunquam sæviunt;
Flos purpureus rosarum
Ver agit perpetuum;
Candent lilia, rubescit
Crocus, sudat balsamum;
Virent prata, vernant sata,
Rivi mellis influunt;
Pigmentorum spirat odor,
Liquor et aromatum;
Pendent poma floridorum
Non lapsura nemorum.
Non alternat Luna vices,
Sol, vel cursus Syderum;
Agnus est felicis urbis
Lumen inocciduum;
Nox et tempus desunt ei,
Diem fert continuum;
Nam et Sancti quique, velut
Sol præclarus, rutilant;
Post triumphum coronati
Mutuo conjubilant;
Et prostrati pugnas hostis,
Jam securi, numerant.
Mutabilibus exuti
Repetunt originem,
Et præsentem veritatis
Contemplantur speciem;
Hinc vitalem vivi fontis
Hauriunt dulcedinem;
Inde statum semper idem
Existendi capiunt;
Clari, vividi, jucundi,
Nullis patent casibus;
Absunt morbi semper sanis,
Senectus juvenibus.

indeed their eruptions were supposed always to take place upon the death of any rich sinner, an example of

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Hinc perenne tenent esse,
Nam transire transiit;
Inde virent, vigent, florent;
Corruptela corruit;
Immortalitatis vigor
Mortis jus absorbuit.
Qui scientem cuncta sciunt,
Qui nescire nequeunt;
Nam et pectoris arcana
Penetrant alterutrum;
Unum volunt, unum nolunt,
Unitas est mentium."

Preces et Carmina, tom. iv. p. 31.

The following version may perhaps help the unclassical reader to some idea of the original. In the last lines I have attempted to preserve the odd play upon words that seems to have so much delighted the Cardinal.

Summer's heats, and winter's tempests,
There no change can ever bring;
There the rose's crimson flower
Blooms for aye in constant spring;
Ever there the crocus blushes
And the balsam's sweetness gushes.

There the meads are ever verdant,
And the streams with honey flow;
Breathes the perfume still of spices
As the breezes gently blow;
And the fruits, that perish never,
Hang upon the trees for ever.

There the moon itself ne'er changes,
There the sun is ever bright;
And the Lamb of that blest city
Is the still-unfading light.
Night and time are never known there,
Day for ever reigns alone there.

which occurred upon the decease of the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John,* as we learn from the authority just quoted.

There the holy host of martyrs
Shine in glory like the sun;
And, with wreaths of triumph circled,
Joy in their labours done;
In a state of bliss reposing,
Still beginning, never closing.

Stript of all that made them mortal,
They are spirits free above;
Able now to bear the presence
Of eternal Truth and Love;
Hence they drink life's waters glowing,
From the throne of mercy flowing.

Hence with them life is unchanging,
Fear nor hope can fling a shade;
Theirs is joy past words to tell it,
Ecstacies that never fade;
Sickness there can not come near them,
Nor the touch of old age sear them.

They rejoice in life immortal,
What with them could pass is past;
And corruption is corrupted,
Death with them is dead at last.
Now the Grave has lost its power,
Blooms for them th' immortal flower.

Now they know the great All-knower,
Can not, if they would, be blind;
Each can read the other's bosom,
They have now a single mind;
Bound in love to one another,
Each to each is now a brother.

* "Quo mortuo mons Vesuvius, unde videlicet gehenna frequenter eructat, in flammas erupit, ut liquido probaretur quia fœnum, quod a dæmonibus parabatur, nil aliud fuit nisi ignis trucis incendii, qui

On this day was "the custom of *Soul-Mass-Cakes*, which are a kind of oat-cakes, that some of the richer sort of persons in Lancashire and Herefordshire (among the Papists there) use still to give the poor on this day; and they in retribution of their charity hold themselves obliged to say this old couplet:

God have your soul,
Bones and all."*

Archbishop Kennett speaks of a somewhat similar custom as existing in Shropshire. He says "in Shropshire the custom now remains that on *All-Souls-Day*, November 2, they set on a board a high heap of small cakes, which they call SOUL-CAKES, of which they offer one to every person, who comes to the house that day; and there is an old rhyme, which seems to have been sung by the family and guests.

A soul-cake, a soul-cake;
Have mercy on all Christian souls for a soul-cake.†

The same custom is mentioned, and with very little

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pravis ac reprobis hominibus debebatur. Nam quandocumque in illis partibus reprobus dives moritur, ignis erumpere de prædicto môte videtur, tantaque sulphureæ resinæ congeries ex ipso Vesuvio protinus fluit, ut torrentem faciat, atque decurrente impetu in mare descēdat." P. DAMIANI EPISTOLÆ. *Epist. IX.* p. 31. 4to. Parisiis. 1610.—But the whole of this epistle, which is addressed to no less a person than Pope Nicolas II, is full of such marvels as could hardly be believed except upon the authority of a Cardinal-Bishop, the favourite of Popes and Princes, who was not unfrequently dragged from his beloved solitude to interfere in their worldly arrangements, and to fulfil the high duties of a Cardinal legate; and who appears to have had in his hands the government of the whole Christian church. See his life in the HISTOIRE GENERALE DES AUTEURS SACRES ET ECCLESIASTIQUES, ch. XXXIII. p. 512. tome 20. 4to. Paris, 1757.

* FESTA ANGLO-ROMANA, p. 109.

† KENNETT'S COLLECTIONS. MS. *Bibl. Lansdown.* No. 1039. vol. 105, page 12.

variation even in the words, by Aubrey;* "In Salop, &c. die oĩum animarum (All-Soule's-Day, November 2nd) there is sett on the board a high heap of *Soule-cakes*, lyeing one upon another like the picture of the shew-bread in the old bibles. They are about the bignesse of 2^{y} cakes, and all the visitants that day take one; and there is an old rhythme or saying:

A soule-cake! a soule-cake!
Have mercy on all christian souls for a *soule-cake.*

This custome is continued to this time." He then adds that it puts him in mind of the Feralia, and that if Ovid had continued his Fasti to this month it is probable we should have found some mention of it,—a very sage conclusion.

Gunpowder Plot — Guy-Faux Day — Pope-Day — *November* 5th.—A Protestant festival, held among the higher classes by a holiday at the public offices, and by a particular "Form of prayer with thanksgiving for the happy deliverance of King James I. and the three estates of England from the most traitorous and bloody intended massacre by gunpowder; and also for the happy arrival of his late Majesty (King William III.) on this day for the deliverance of our church and nation.†" Among the populace, or rather among their children, it is celebrated by the carrying about of a stuffed straw figure, representative of Guy Fawkes, the head and front of the intended blowing up of both Lords and Commons. This grotesque image is sometimes decorated with a mitre, at others with a cocked hat, and more recently with a striped paper-cap, which, with his hooked nose and chin, gives him no slight resemblance to that celebrated character, Punch. His body is generally invested

* Remains of Gentilisme, MS. folio 110. Bibl. Lansdown. No. 231. Plut. 75. F.

† See the Book of Common Prayer.

in an old ragged coat, and he is fastened in an armed chair, in which state he is paraded along the streets from morning 'till night, attended by a troop of idle boys, who from time to time stop before any house where there appears a chance of collecting stray half-pence, beating the ground with their staves, and singing the following commemorative rhymes:

Remember, remember
The fifth of November,
Gunpowder treason and plot;
I know no reason
Why gunpowder treason
Should ever be forgot;

A stick and a stake
For King James' sake,
Then hollow boys, hollow boys,
God save the king.

A stick and a stump
For Guy Fawkes' rump;
Then hollow boys, hollow boys,
God save the king.
Huzza—a—a!

A furious shouting and clatter of sticks follow the conclusion, and this ceremony is repeated 'till evening, when the various representatives of Guy Fawkes are committed to bon-fires, previously collected for the purpose.

Lord Mayor's Day; *November* 9th.—The office of chief magistrate of London was held for life 'till about 1214, nor was it 'till more than a hundred years afterwards that the title of *Lord* was given to the mayor. This arose in the time of Richard II. on occasion of Walworth, the mayor of the day, basely murdering Wat Tyler in Smithfield.

In olden times the swearing in of the Lord Mayor and the accompanying show used to take place on the

29th of October, but on the alteration in the style these ceremonies were removed to the day on which we now find them. The origin of them may be traced, not perhaps in their minute details, but in their general outlines, to our Flemish neighbours, who at a very early period had their *grossen Ommeganck*, that is their grand procession of the guilds or companies of tradesmen. Most of the elements of our early Lord Mayor's shows may be found in these Ommegancks, and more particularly the giants, who indeed once formed a principal figure in all pageants, and who, though they have long since departed from the scene with us, may yet be found in the shows of the more simple-minded Flemings. When Napoleon paid his celebrated visit to Antwerp, a pasteboard giant went forth to welcome the hero of a hundred bloody battles.

That, which in later days has been called the *Lord Mayor's Show*, was but a degenerate copy of the old *Pageant* or *Triumph*, which assumed a variety of forms at different times, blending paganism, christianity and chivalry in marvellous confusion. This however was not always the case, for at one period it became the fashion for the city to employ dramatists of note upon these matters; and there are yet extant certain pageants by Decker, Middleton, Webster, and by other, though perhaps inferior writers.

It may by some be thought to militate against my derivation of the custom from the Flemings that these pageants were common on many other occasions, or, to speak more correctly, the word was used not only to signify the shows exhibited to welcome princes, or to celebrate the inauguration of civic magistrates, but it was also applied to the religious representations called Mysteries and Moralities, and even to the booths themselves, or temporary buildings, in which these sights

took place, when they represented, as occasion required, either rocks, woods, palaces, or castles. Thus we are told that on the morning after the affiancing of Henry the Eighth's daughter Margaret, to James of Scotland, "incontinent after the pryses were given," (that is to the jousters of the preceding evening)—"there was in the hall a goodly *pageant*, curiously wrought with fenestrellis,* having many lights brenning in the same, in manner of a lantron, out of which sorted † divers sorts of morisks."‡

As regards Lord Mayor's Day, these pageants should only be considered as a part of the solemnities—of the RIDINGS, in fact, as the civic and royal processions were anciently termed,§ which, though blending with the pageants, may yet be considered as a distinct matter; indeed they are all that now remain to us of the old custom, for the Lord Mayor's Show, or that part which was more particularly derived from the pageants, has long since fallen into neglect, and even the riding has lost from year to year some portion of its puerilities, till at last it is no longer the thing that it used to be. It would be tedious to trace all these changes through the various periods of our history; but a very sufficient idea of the general routine of such ceremonies may be obtained in "A breffe description of the Royall Citie of London, capitale citie of this realme of England, wrytten by me Wyllyam Smythe, citizen and haberdasher of London, 1575."—"The maior of London

* FENESTRELLIS, i.e. *windows*.

† SORTED, i.e. *came*.

‡ MORISKS, i.e. *morrice-dancers*. The above extract is from LELAND'S COLLECTANEA DE REBUS ANGLICANIS, vol. iv. p. 263. 8vo. Oxford, 1770.

§ —— "when ther any *riding* was in Chepe
Out of the shoppe thider wold he lepe,
And 'til that he had all *the sight* ysein,
And danced wel, he wold not come agein."
CANTERBURY TALES—*Coke's Tale*.

is chiefe sovereigne of the citie representing the kinge in his absence, and is yearlie chosen on the daie of St. Michaell out of the company of aldermen, to serve the yeare folowinge and is elected after this manner: They of the Liverey(whiche are the chieffest of every companie)do mete at the Guyldhall, and (after a certayne oration made by the Recorder) there is iij or iiij of the aldermen named, of the whiche one is chosen, who is thought to be worthy such a dignitie and estate. And the choyse is made by most voyces, and by lyftinge upp of handes of the companies afforesayd, or ells by interrogations when it can not be discerned whiche hath most handes. And the Lord Mayor so elected is then sett downe in seat royall, and the Chamberlayne of London then bryngeth forth sceptre, mace, and sworde, which the sayd Chamberlayne taketh (one after another) and kisseth the same, delyverynge it to the old Mayor, who kisseth it and delivereth it to the newe Mayor, who also kysseth yt and delyvereth yt to the Chamberlayne agayne. The day of St. Simon and Jude he entrethe into his estate and offyce, if in the meane tyme he be not founde and prove unworthy of his office; and the next daie following he goeth by water to Westmynster, in most tryumphlyke manner. His barge, (wherin also all the aldermen be) beenge garnished with the armes of the Citie; and nere the sayd barge goeth a shyppbote of the Queene's Ma^tie, beinge trymed upp, and rigged like a shippe of warre, with dyvers peces of ordenance, standards, penens, and targetts of the proper armes of the sayd Mayor, the armes of the Citie, of his Company, and of the marchaunts adventurers, or of the staple, or of the company of the newe trades; (if he be any of the said iij companies of merchants) next before hym goeth the barge of the lyvery of his owne company, decked with their owne proper armes, then the bachelers barge, and so all the companies in London in order, every

one havinge their own proper barge garnished with the armes of their company. And so passing along the Thamise, landeth at Westmynster, wher he taketh his othe in Thexcheker,* beffore the judge there (whiche is one of the chiefe judges of England) whiche done, he returneth by water as afforsayd, and landeth at powles wharfe,† where he and the reste of the Aldermen take their horses, and in great pompe passe throwgh the greate strete of the citie, called Cheapsyde, as follows. [A list of the companies is here given, with their several arms emblazoned.] Fyrste, it is to be understanded, that the lyveries of every companye do lande before the Lord Mayor, and are redy in Cheapsyde before his comynge, standinge a longe the street redy as he passeth by. And to make waye in the streetes, there are certayne men apparelled lyke deveils and wylde men, with skybbs,‡ and certayne beadells. And fyrste of all cometh great estandarts,§ one havinge the armes of the citie, and the other the armes of the Mayor's company; next them ij drummes and a flute, then an ensigne of the citie, and then about lxx or lxxx poore men marchinge, ij and two togeather in blewe gownes, with redd sleeves and capps, every one bearinge a pyke and a target, wheron is paynted the armes of all them that have byn Mayor of the same company that this newe Mayor is of. Then ij banners, one of the kynges armes, the other of the Mayor's owne proper armes. Then a sett of hautboits playinge, and after them certayne wyfflers,‖ in velvett

* i.e. the *Exchequer*.

† i.e. *St. Paul's Wharf*.

‡ Skybbs is explained by Fairholt to signify *squibs*; I should rather imagine it means *clubs*, though its derivation is a matter of some difficulty.

§ i.e. Standards, or flags.

‖ i.e. *whifflers*, or *wifelers*, a word that I have already explained at some length. It may not however be amiss to add the following quotation in further illustration of the subject:

cotes and chaynes of golde with white staves in their handes; then the pageant of Tryumphe rychly decked whereuppon by certayne fygures and wrytinges (partly towchinge the name of the sayd Mayor*) some matter towchynge justice and the office of a majestrate is represented. Then xvj trompeters vij and viij in a company. Then certayne wyfflers in velvet cotes and chaynes with white staves as aforesayde. Then the bachelers ij and two together in longe gownen, with crymson hoodes on their shoulders, of sattyn; whiche bachelers† are chosen every yeare of the same company that the Mayor is of (but not of the lyvery) and serve as gentlemen on that and other festivall daies, to wayte on the Mayor, beinge in number accordinge to the quantetie of the company, sometimes 60, 80, or 100. After them xij trompeters more, with banners of the Mayor's company, then the drumme and fluts of the citie, and an ensigne

"Next place of office, whiche I doe attaine,
Is swashing *whiffler* w^th^ my staff and chaine;
In which hot office when I long have been,
I swaggering leave, and to be stayd beginn."

FAIRHOLT'S HISTORY OF LORD MAYOR'S PAGEANTS, Part I. p. 16—note. These lines are to be found under a print of the HENCHBOY—Harleian MSS. No. 5944—Brit. Mus.

* This alludes to the practice of punning both verbally and by figures on the Mayor's name. The custom continued up to the time of the Revolution.

† "A *Bacheler*," says Minshew, "is so called as being one, who comes out of his novice-shippe. Whereby I thinke those, that be called *Bacheler's of the Companies of London*, bee such of each Companie as have passed *Master* in a trade, but are not yet sworne of the Companie, but springing towards the estate of such as be imploied in counsell, but as yet are inferiours. For every Companie of the twelve consisteth of one Master, two Wardens, and the Liverie (which are assistants in matter of counsell, &c.) the Bachelers, which are yet but in expectance of dignitie among them, and have their functions onely in attendance upon the Master, and Wardens."

of the Mayor's company, and after, the waytes* of the citie in blewe gownes, redd sleeves and cappes, every one havinge his silver coller about his neck. Then they of the liverey in their longe gownes, every one havinge his hood on his lefte shoulder, halfe bleck and halfe redd, the number of them is accordinge to the greatnes of the companye whereof they are. After them followe sherriffes' officers, and then the mayor's officers, with other officers of the citie, as the comon sergent and the chamberlayne; next before the mayor goeth the swordbearer, having on his headd the cappe of honor, and the sword of the citie in his right hande, in a riche skabarde sett with pearle, and on his left hand goeth the comon cryer

* Waits, or *Wayghtes*. Much has been written about this simple word, and, as it appears to me, very little to the purpose, the farthing rush-light of Archdeacon Nares burning particularly bright on the occasion. Minshew tells us that it was used to signify a *wind-instrument*, a *hautboy*, and there can be no doubt that such was often the case; but it is equally clear that in its primitive meaning it signified a *watch* or *watchman*. In the PROMPTORIUM PARVULORUM, *wayte* is explained by "speculator foris"—"explorator foris," and there seems every reason for supposing that it came to us from the old German *Wacht*, a vigil or watching — Gothicè *wahts*, — as we find these last words explained in WACHTER'S GLOSSARIUM GERMANICUM. When we consider moreover that not only in Germany, whence the custom was probably derived, but in England, if we go back to a remote period, the watchman sang the hour of night and in rude rhymes warned the town against fire, we shall easily understand how our nocturnal serenaders came by their appellation of *waits*.

In our old dramatists we find frequent allusion to them. Thus in the CAPTAIN of *Beaumont and Fletcher*, Act. 2, Scene 2, Jacomo says,

"Hark! are the waights abroad?"

to which his friend answers,

"Be softer, prythee;
'Tis private music."

And the farther reply of Jacomo shows that the *lute* was the instrument in question.

of the citie, with his great mace on his shoulder, all gilt. The mayor hathe on a long gowne of skarlet, and on his lefte shoulder a hood of black velvet, and a riche coller of gold of SS.* about his neck, and with him rydeth

* This "collar of gold of SS." or, as Stow calls it (Book iv. p. 1193,) "collar of SS. with a jewel appendant," consisted of two SS. with a knot between them, like those which tie the garters together in the great collar of the Order of the Garter, in addition to which they were placed between two roses,—a white rose within a red. But, as we shall see presently, the fashion of this badge varied much according to the rank and office of the wearer, and perhaps it was not the same at all periods.

According to Wicelius, (HISTORIA DE DIVIS TAM VET. QUAM NOVI TESTAMENTI, p. 358, Basileæ, 1557,) the order emanated in the first instance from the Society of St. Simplicius in the time of Dioclesian, which was held in commemoration of that martyr, and hence the appellation of the SS. "It was the custom," he says, "of those persons to wear about their necks silver collars composed of double SS. which noted the name of St. Simplicius; between these double SS. the collar contained twelve small plates of silver, in which were engraved the twelve articles of the creed with a single trefoyle. The image of St. Simplicius hung at the collar, and from it seven plates representing the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost."

I have not myself seen the work from which this quotation is made, nor is it in the library of the British Museum, but have given it, as I find it, in BERRY'S ENCYCLOPÆDIA HERALDICA, vol. i. under SS.

In the course of time this badge became fashionable throughout Europe, though only by arbitrary assumption, and Trusler in his HISTORIAN'S VADE MECUM says that it was first introduced amongst us in 1407, though according to Anstis it was originally the cognizance of the house of Lancaster. From Selden (TITLES OF HONOUR, chap. v. part ii. p. 691), we learn that in the time of Edward the Fourth esquires were created by bestowing upon them this collar; but Favine in his THEATER OF HONOUR, (vol. ii. book v. chap. 2, p. 67) gives it a yet earlier date. He says that he can find nothing in regard to this badge but what he gathers from the *Chronicle of the Ursins*, and from that he learns the "collars of Esses were first instituted by King Henry the Fifth, on occasion of the Battle of Agincourt."

the olde mayor also in his skarlet gowne, hood of velvet, and a chayne of golde about his neck. Then all the aldermen, ij and ij together (amongst whome is the recorder) all in skarlet gownes; and those that have byn mayors have chaynes of gold, the others have black velvett tippetts. The ij shereffes come last of all, in their skarlet gownes and chaynes of golde.

In this order they passe alonge throwgh the citie to the Guyldhall, where they dyne that daie, to the number of 1000 persons, all at the charge of the mayor and the ij shereffes. This feast costeth £400, whereof the mayor payeth £200, and eche of the shereffes £100. Imediately after dyner they go to the churche of St. Paule, every one of the aforesayd poore men bearynge staffe, torches, and targetts, whiche torches are lighted when it is late before they come from evening prayer."*

The collars of the Lord-Chief-Justices of both benches, and that of the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, were formed of the letter S. and a knot alternately; having a rose set in that part of it which falls upon the middle of the breast, and another on the back, the five flower-leaves of these roses being formed of five large pearls. It is supposed that the judges wear this badge, because St. Simplicius was like themselves a senator, and consequently a gentleman of the long robe.

The collars, which appertained to the kings and heralds of arms, and also to the sergeants at arms, were composed of SS. linked together; in the middle of the breast is a rose, and another in the middle of the back, at each of which formerly hung three small drops of silver. But the SS. in the collars worn by the kings of arms were made somewhat bigger than the others; and in that part lying upon either shoulder was, and still is, a portcullis taken in between the SS. which was wanting in the rest.

The ancient collar was composed entirely of links in the shape of the letter S. and some other varieties existed, though it is hardly worth while to enter more minutely into the detail of them.

* The British Bibliographer; by *Sir E. Brydges and Joseph Haselewood*, p. 540, 8vo. Lond. 1810—14. It is however, as I have

MARTINMAS, MARTLEMAS, OR MARTILMASSE; *November 11th.*—The festival of St. Martin, one of the most celebrated saints in the Romish calendar, who was born about the year 402 at Sabaria, now called Stain am Angern, a city of Hungary. Sulpicius Severus affirms that he equalled Plato, Socrates, and the apostles,* an opinion, which, it would seem, is highly approved of by Gregory of Tours,† as well as by Durandus, so far at least as regarded the latter part of the comparison. Durandus is even at the pains of explaining that Martin was said to rival the apostles, not, as some thought, because he raised the dead, for other saints had done as much, nor yet from the multitude of his miracles, but on account of one miracle in particular. This it is. One day in the depth of winter he met, at the gates of Amiens in Picardy, a poor man quite naked, whom the hard-hearted passers-by refused to relieve; hereupon the saint felt that Heaven had reserved the holy work more especially for himself, and as he possessed nothing but the garment he had on, having spent all beside in charity, he immediately cut it into two, and gave one half to the pauper. In those times such acts of piety seldom went without the reward of a

already noticed, a quotation from an old MS., which I have not been able to find in the British Museum, and which may possibly be in the library of the city of London. Fairholt in his *Lord Mayor's Pageants*, part i. p. 30, gives a portion of these same quotations, but evidently from Sir E. Brydges, as he makes no distinct reference to the MS.

* "Sciat Corinthus, sciant Athenæ, non sapientiorem in Academia Platonem, nec Socratem in carcere fortiorem; felicem quidem Græciam, quæ meruit audire Apostolum prædicantem, sed nequaquam a Christo Gallias derelictas, quibus donaverit habere Martinum." SULPICII SEVERI OPERA.—*Dialogus* iij. p. 326, 16mo. Amstelodami, 1656. Elzevir.

† S. GREGORII TURONENSIS OP.—*Miraculorum S. Martini*, lib. i. cap. 1. p. 999.

divine revelation, whatever they may do now a-days; and in a vision of the night, the saint saw Christ clothed in the identical half of the robe he had thus given away in charity; at the same time he heard him say to the surrounding angels, "Martin, although he is only a catechumen, gave me this cloak." *

From his early years he had a great fancy for the church, and when only ten years old would fain have been a hermit, much to the annoyance of the tribune his father, who as an old soldier had no sympathy whatever with these spiritual inclinations. When therefore the youthful saint had attained the age of fifteen, his father, in obedience to the royal mandate that the sons of all veterans should be conscripts, delivered him over to the authorities in fetters, and compelled him to become a soldier. Upon this he served for three years, after which he joined the legion of saints, and performed so many miracles that

* The legend here given is from Sulpicius Severus, for though the same story is told by Durandus (p. 303,) yet it is with so many points of difference that I have preferred the older, and therefore the more orthodox, version of the affair. Durand even goes so far as to make Martin Bishop of Tours at the time, whereas Sulpicius says, "quodam itaque tempore, cum jam nihil præter arma et simplicem *militiæ vestem*, media hyeme, quæ solito asperior inhorruerat, adeo ut plerosque vis algoris extingueret, obvium habet in porta Ambianensium civitatis pauperem nudum; qui cum prætereuntes ut sui misererentur oraret, omnesque miserum præterirent, intellexit vir deo plenus sibi illum, aliis misericordiam non præstantibus, reservari. Quid tamen ageret? nihil præter chlamydem, quæ indutus erat, habebat, jam enim reliqua in opus simile consumpserat. Arrepto itaque *ferro, quo incinctus erat* mediam dividit, partemque ejus pauperi tribuit, reliqua rursus induitur. Nocte igitur insecuta, cum se sopori dedisset, vidit Christum chlamydis suæ qua pauperem texerat parte vestitum. Intueri diligentissimè Dominum, vestemque quam dederat agnoscere, jubetur. Mox ad angelorum circumstantium multitudinum audit Jesum clara voce dicentem, 'Martinus, adhuc catechumen, hac me veste contexit.'" SULPICII SEVERI DE VITA B. MARTINI LIB. p. 218.

it has taken Gregory of Tours four books, divided into a multitude of chapters, to describe them all.

This festival, which was instituted by Pope Martin about the year 650, is generally considered to have been derived from the Athenian *Pythægia*,* a feast which was so named from tapping the casks of new wine.† It took place on the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth days of the month Anthesterion, corresponding with our November, and in all the vine-growing countries the custom still remains of feasting and rejoicing. In Franconia, as we are told by

* "Hæc est læta dies; ista populusque patresque
Luce cados relinunt, et defecata per omnes
Vina ferunt mensas, ac libera verba loquuntur.
Talis apud veteres olim sacrata Lyæo
Lux erat, a priscis vocitata Pithægia Græcis
Quod signata dies aperiret dolia festus."

Hospinian, from whom I quote these lines, says they are from the Fasti of Mantuanus. There are no Fasti, however, in the works of the only Mantuanus I am acquainted with, who was a Carmelite, and has favoured the world with two volumes of mediocre Latin verse.

† "Τοῦ νέου οἶνου Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἐνδεκάτῃ μηνὸς καταρχονται, Πιθοιγίαν τὴν ἡμέραν καλοῦντες· καὶ πάλαι γε (ὡς ἔοικεν) εὔχοντο, τὸ οἶνου, πρὶν ἢ πιεῖν, αποσπένδοντες, ἀβλαβῆ καὶ σωτήριον αὐτοῖς τὸ φαρμάκου τὴν χρῆσιν γενέσθαι." *Plutarchi Symposiacon.* Quæstio vii., lib. iii. p. 601. Vol. viii. Edit. Reiskii, 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1777.—"At Athens on the tenth of the month (i. e. Anthesterion), they first taste the new wine, calling the day *Pythægia*. And anciently (as it appears) before they drank, they made a libation of the wine, praying that the use of it might prove harmless and medicinal." The same thing is alluded to in another *Symposium*: Καὶ μὴν οἶνου γε τὸν νέον οἱ πρωϊαίτατα πίνοντες Ἀνθεστεριῶνι πίνουσι μηνὶ μετὰ χειμῶνα· καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἡμεῖς μὲν Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος, Ἀθεναῖοι δε Πιθοιγίαν προσαγορεύουσι." IDEM. lib. viii. *Quæstio* x. p. 932. "They, who drink the wine the quickest, do so in the month, Anthesterion, following winter; and that day we call the *Day of the Good Genius*, but the Athenians call it PYTHÆGIA."—The word is compounded of Πίθος, *a cask*, and οἴγειν, *to open*.

Boemus Aubanus,* every one taps his new wine, from which he had hitherto abstained, and no one is so poor that he does not now feed upon meat, or at least upon the inward parts of pigs and calves, fried or broiled, and indulge also in wine more freely. With us the principal remains of the custom are in a more than usual consumption of roasted goose—a practice rather belonging to Michaelmas,†—and in the so-called *Martlemas Beef*,‡ that is to say beef hung up in

* "Nemo per totam regionem tanta paupertate premitur, nemo tanta tenacitate tenetur, qui in festo Sancti Martini non altili aliquo, vel saltem suillo vitulinove viscere assato, vescatur, qui vino non remissius indulgent. Quilibet enim tunc nova vina sua, a quibus se adhuc usque abstinuit, degustat et dat degustare omnia." ORBIS TERRARUM EPITOME. Per *Johannem Boemum Aubanum*. Lib. iii. cap. 14. p. 241. 12mo. Papiæ. 1596.

† In other countries, and here too in earlier times, the goose was as much in use at Martinmas as at Michaelmas. Thus T. Naogeorgus in his Pap. Reg. lib. 4, tells us,

"Altera Martinus dein Bacchanalia præbet,
Quem colit anseribus populus."

‡ Many examples of this might be given, but one or two will be sufficient for our purpose.

"Warne him not to cast his wanton eyne,
On grosser bacon or salt haberdine;
Or dried fliches of some *smoked beeve*,
Hang'd on a writhen wythe since Martin's eve."
JOSEPH HALL'S VIRGIDEMIARIUM. Book 4. Sat. 4.

The *haberdine*, mentioned in these lines, is *salted cod*.

And again in Tusser—

"Martinmas beefe doth beare good tacke
When countrie folks do dainties lacke."

As to the word *tacke*, it is not easy to say precisely what it means. Todd *(Johnson's Dictionary)* quotes this very passage, and assures us that *tack* in Scotland "denotes hold, or persevering cohesion;" as no doubt it does in many cases; but the interpretation hardly seems to hold good here. It may perhaps come from the Swedo-Gothic *Tæck*, "pleasing, grateful," meaning thereby that Martinmas beef is an agreeable fare for rustics lacking dainties; but this also is far from being satisfactory, and is only offered as a conjecture in default of any thing better.

the chimney to dry like bacon, and which got its name from the animals being killed at this season for that especial purpose. But the eating of goose now is the most general observance, and the one for which it is the most difficult to assign any reason, unless we believe with some pious folks the old tradition of St. Martin hiding himself because he was unwilling to become a bishop, and being discovered by a goose.* Neither do we seem to obtain any nearer glimpses of its origin, when we search into the old festivals from which the Martinalia were unquestionably derived. True it is that the goose was sacred to Isis,† and Osiris, as well as to Priapus, and was sacrificed to Juno, but still it had not any connexion, so far as we know, with the Pythægia, and therefore even this fact does not help us out of our difficulty.

In some places a singular custom prevailed of cheating the children into due respect for Saint Martin by making it seem that he changed water into new wine for their especial accommodation. To effect this notable piece of jugglery, the children were taught to fill vessels with water, and leave them in that state during the night for the Saint to operate upon. The parents would then substitute new wine for the water while the young folks

* "Si sol clarus obit Martino nunciat acrem
Atque molestam hyemem; si nubilus, aera mitem
Prædicat hybernum, dant; hæc prognostica natis
Pastores ovium cum seria fantur ad ignem."
FASTI DANICI—ab *Olio Wormio*, lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 117.

† "St. Martin's Day, in the Norway clogs (see page 261) is marked with a goose, for on that day they always feasted with (on) a roasted goose. They say St. Martin being elected to a bishoprick hid himself, but was discovered by that animal. We have transferred the ceremony to Michaelmas." DR. STUKELEY'S ITINERARIUM. *Iter. vi.* p. 139. Note. Folio. London, 1776. This curious note is not to be found in the earlier edition of the ITINERARIUM.

were asleep, and in the morning Saint Martin would get the merit of the whole transaction.*

There is yet one point that remains to be mentioned before we leave the feast of Martinmas. It was popularly believed in former times that if the sun set brightly on this day, it portended a hard winter; if amidst clouds, then it was a sign that the winter would be mild; a coincidence that no doubt often happens, greatly to the satisfaction of all weather-prophets.

OLD MARTINMAS—FEAST OF ST. CLEMENT; *November* 23.—St. Clement was born at Rome, and was one of its earliest bishops, dying, according to some accounts, a natural death about the year 100, at the commencement of the Emperor Trajan's reign. In the case, however, of Saints, death by fire, sword, or water, are such natural modes of leaving the world, that this story can hardly be considered as militating against the tale of the venerable Bede,† though if taken to the letter it certainly may

* "Vasa solent exponere pueri, hac nocte, aqua repleta, quam transmutari in vinum pia simplicitas credit, quando vinum a parentibus suppositum videt." *M. J. G. Drechsslers.* DE LARVIS NATALITIIS, p. 31, 12mo. Lipsiæ, 1683.

† It may perhaps puzzle my readers—as it used to puzzle me before I got acquainted with Durandus—to conceive why Bede above all men should be designated by the epithet of *venerable*. But that expounder of all that is most inexplicable, and who has a dozen reasons for all that is most unreasonable, has been pleased to enlighten us upon this as upon so many other topics. According to him, Bede, although he be placed in the catalogue of Saints is yet not so called by the church, but is named the *venerable*, and for this two-fold reason: First; becoming blind from old age and causing himself to be led about that he might preach the word, it happened one day that he strayed into a valley full of stones, when one of his guides, instigated no doubt by the devil, derisively told him that a numerous congregation was waiting in eager silence for his discourse; accordingly the Venerable, nothing lothe, began to preach with much unction, but no sooner had he got to his *sæcula sæculorum*, than all the stones responded with a loud voice, "Amen *venerable* father;" and hence

seem to infer a contradiction. The latter writer informs us that Clement was banished by Trajan to a desert beyond the Euxine, but as he still contrived to draw a crowd of followers to himself it was deemed expedient to fling him into the sea with an anchor about his neck. While however his disciples prayed for him the water ebbed three miles out, when they found his body in a stone chest, within a marble temple, and the anchor at his side.* It is probably in allusion to this passage of the saint's life, or rather of his decease, that we still find the device of an anchor in various parts of the church of

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came the appellation; though, according to some, it was the angels, and not the flints, that replied. If, however, there are any so unreasonable as not to be satisfied with this explanation, Durandus has a second for them: After his death, a certain poetical follower wished to inscribe an epitaph on his tomb-stone, but could by no means manufacture an hexameter out of

"Hæc sunt in fossa Bedæ sancti ossa"
In this grave are Saint Bede's bones.

Through the whole night he meditated in vain upon this unlucky verse, but when at day-break he visited the tomb in despair, lo and behold! some angel had with his own hands done the job for him, and inscribed a handsome hexameter on the marble;

"Hæc sunt in fossa Bedæ venerabilis ossa"
Here lies in earth the venerable Bede.

The original is much too long to be extracted, but the reader may rely that he has here the substance of it. If, however, he be at all curious on the subject he will find the passage in *Durandi Rationale Divin. Officior.* lib. vii., cap. 37, and at page 303 of the edition of 1609.

* "Jubente Trajano missus est in exilium trans Pontum Mare, in eremo; ubi multis ad fidem vocatis per miracula et doctrinam ejus, præcipitatum est in mare, ligata ad collum ejus anchora. Sed recessit mare, orantibus discipulis, per tria milia, et invenerunt corpus in arca saxea, in marmoreo templo, et anchoram juxta." BEDÆ OPERA—*Martyrologium*—ix. Calend. Decemb.

St. Clement Danes, London, as well as on the boundary marks of the parish.

Though it is long since St. Clement has ceased to be noticed in this country, yet at one time his day like that of so many other Saints was a period of feasting and rejoicing. Of this we have still the undeniable vestiges. In the old *clogs*,* "a pot was placed against the 23rd of November, for the feast of St. Clement, from the ancient custom of going about that night to begg drink to make merry with."†

* Cloggs were a sort of almanacks made upon square sticks, which were still in use among the lower classes in the country when Dr. Plot wrote his History of Staffordshire, that is to say, in 1686. They were also used at one time both in Sweden and Denmark (See *Olaus Magnus*, De Ritu Gent. Sept., lib. 1, cap. 34, and lib. 16, cap. 20—Olai Wormii Fast. Danic. lib. 2, cap. 2, 3, 4, and 5.) By the Danes they were called *Rimstocks*, perhaps because the Dominical Letters used to be in Runick characters; or, more probably because *Rimur* signified a calendar, and thus the compound word would mean no more than a calendar of wood. By the Norwegians they were called *Primstaves*, from the chief thing inscribed upon the staves, namely, the *Prime* or *Golden Number*. By the Swedes they were named *Baculi Annales*, an appellation which seems to be somewhat too restricted, inasmuch as they were often engraved upon little oblong boards as well as upon staves; while at other times their material was horn, or a hollow bone, or many bones tesselated as it were, or fastened together. In this country they were chiefly made of box-wood, but also of fir and oak. Sometimes they were made of brass. In regard to form, some were small, and adapted to be carried about in the pocket for private use; others again were large, and suspended from the wall or chimney mantle-piece. Lastly, as to the kinds of cloggs; some were "perfect, containing the *Dominical Letters*, as well as the *Prime* and marks for the feasts engraven upon them; others were imperfect, having only the *Prime* and the immoveable feasts on them." There can be no doubt as to these matters, for specimens of the clogg are still to be found both in the Museum at Oxford and in private collections; and Dr. Plot has given a full account of them in his HISTORY OF STAFFORDSHIRE, (chap. x.)

† PLOT'S STAFFORDSHIRE, p. 430.

St. Andrew's Day; *November* 30.—A day that never was of much note with us, though in Scotland it has given rise to many observances. The only point worth recording of it in respect to this country is the annual Kentish custom, or diversion as it is called, of hunting the squirrel. "The labourers and lower kind of people assembling together form a lawless rabble, and being accoutred with guns, poles, clubs, and other such weapons, spend the greatest part of the day in parading through the woods and grounds, with loud shoutings, and under the pretence of demolishing the squirrels, some few of which they kill, they destroy numbers of hares, pheasants, partridges, and in short, whatever comes in their way, breaking down the hedges and doing much other mischief; and in the evening betaking themselves to the alehouses, finish their career there, as is usual with such sort of gentry."*

In Saxony the young girls in the time of Luther used to strip themselves naked, and recite the following prayer, in order to learn what kind of a husband they were like to have. "Oh God! my God!—Oh Saint Andrew! take care that I have a good and pious husband; and show me this day who it is that is to marry me.†"

* Hasted's History of Kent, vol. II, p. 757.

† "Deus, deus meus!—O sancte Andrea, effice ut bonum et pium acquiram virum; hodie mihi ostende qualis sit qui me in uxorem ducere debet."—Luther's Colloquia Mensalia, part 1, p. 233.

ANCIENT AND POPULAR SUPERSTITIONS AND CUSTOMS.

It is an ordinary superstition of old women that they dare not intrust a child alone in the cradle without a candle. This conceit derived from the Jews, who were afraid of a she-devil called *Lilith*.*

Flowers at Funerals.—The custom of rosemarie and flowers owing to the Jews, whose ancient custom it was, as they went by the waie with their corpses, to pluck every one a blade or two of grass, as who should say, they were not sorry as men without hope, for their brother was but so cropt off and should spring up again.†

* Abp. Kennett's MS. Collection, Lansdowne Cat. Brit. Mus. N. 1039. Plut. 79. F. vol. 105. fol. 8.—The *Lilith* mentioned by Kennett was, properly speaking, either a bird of night (nocturna avis) or an animal howling in the night-time (animal noctu clamans. Vid. Hoffman's Lexicon.) Hence,—and the transition is not very difficult—the Lilith passed into a female spectre, that appeared in the night-time and was supposed to be peculiarly hostile to new-born children. The fables in regard to her amongst the Jews are numerous. They hold her to be the mother of demons, and had a regular *demonifuge* song, or incantation, which they chaunted to protect infants in the cradle against her influence.

† Id. p. 8.

Building.—"Now a custom of the Jews when they build any hous to leave part of it unfinisht in memory of the destruction of Jerusalem. Nay, the Jews say that God himself purposely left one part unfinisht."*

Dead Bodies.—"The Mahometans to this day, when they have washed their dead, they dispose of them in such a place where they may be layd out so as that the face and feet may most directly be towards the temple of Meccha; which custom is but a transcript of the Jewish rite, which was to carry up the dead bodie, when washed into such a place as is a ὑπερῷον, or upper chamber, where they composed the corpse in such posture as turned the face and feet toward Jerusalem. This perhaps gives original to our burial with face to the east. The modern Jews lay out a dead corpse with the feet toward the chamber door, and a wax-candle at the head put into a pot of ashes."†

Shaving.—"Priests were allowed no whiskers, but to shave their whole face."‡

Custom at Sea.—"It was the custom in a storm to cast lots, and the person, on whom the lot fell, was exposed in a little boat as in the example of Jonas. This was practised in the reign of King Stephen."§

* Id. fol. 8. † Id. fol. 8. ‡ Id. fol. 9.

§ Id. f. 9.—Strange as this custom may be, the archbishop had good authority for asserting it. The story is to be found in William of Newburgh, where it is told of a certain Rayner, a great enemy to the church, whose iniquities were such as once, when voyaging with his wife, to render the ship on the sudden immovable. Thereupon the sailors cast lots according to ancient custom, when the lot fell upon Rainerus. That this might not be the mere effect of chance they threw a second and a third time, and the result being the same, it was unanimously pronounced to be the judgment of God. He was therefore put into a boat with his wife and his ill-acquired wealth, when the boat being submerged by the weight of his sins was swallowed up by the waters. "Alter verò Rainerus nomine, præcipuus ecclesiarum effractor atque

Cross.—At one time people used to sign themselves with the sign of the cross before they slept, and believed they were not otherwise under God's protection. Thus when a certain pious hermit, by name, Ketellus, who had the gift of seeing devils, returned home one night weary with the labours of the field and forgot to sign himself as usual with the sign of the cross, two fiends immediately took advantage of this neglect. "Aha!" quothed they; "we have caught you at last, Master Ketellus!" Upon this he tried to cross himself and invoke the name of Christ, but found both his hands and tongue were tied. In the midst however of their diabolical taunts, a resplendent youth appeared bearing in his hands an axe, which being only slightly touched sent forth such a sound that the terrified demons incontinently fled. And now the youth—whom our historian has no doubt is the hermit's angel—accosts the anchorite, and, rebuking him for his negligence, says, "take care they do not catch you napping again, friend Ketellus.*"

Scadding of Peas.—"A custom in the north of boiling the common grey peas in the shell and eating them with butter and salt, first shelling them. A bean shell and

incensor, cum uxore suo transfretans, iniquitatum suarum pondere in medio mari navim, qua vehebatur, fecit immobilem. Quod cum maximo nautis, et aliis qui simul vehebantur, esset stupori, *antiquo exemplo jacta est sors*, et cecidit sors super Rainerum. Et ne forte hoc casu accidisse videretur, iterum et tertiò sorte jacta et fideli inventa, judicium Dei declaratum est. Itaque, ne universi cum ipso et propter ipsum perirent, expositus est in scapha cum uxore et pecunia male adquisita. Navis illico expedita est, et cursu solito ferebatur. Scapha verò pondere peccatoris subsedit, fluctibusque absorpta est." GULIELMI NEUBRIGENSIS HISTORIA. p. 46. Lib. i. cap. xi. Tom 1. 8vo. Oxonii. 1719. It is hardly necessary to add that this custom must have originated in the scriptural tradition of Jonah and the whale.

* Id. Lib. Secundus, Cap. xxi. p. 173.

all is put into one of the pea-pods; whosoever gets this bean is to be first married."*

Places deemed fatal.—It was a common superstition to attach fatality to certain places. Thus we read that to enter Lincoln was supposed to be fatal to any English monarch; and King Stephen has obtained no little praise from some historians for having the courage to disregard the popular belief and causing himself to be crowned there in the twelfth year of his reign, after he had extorted the city from the hands of the Earl of Chester.†

Gipseys.—This word, which is pronounced hard, is a Yorkshire term for certain springs, which burst occasionally from the earth, and run off into the sea. When they dry up they are supposed to portend good, but when on the contrary they continue to flow on they are supposed to be ominous of evil.‡

Heretics Branded.—In the reign of Henry II. the so-called heretics were branded on the forehead, amerced of all their goods, and publicly whipt with rods, the harbouring of them or in any way assisting them being forbidden under severe penalties. William of Newbury gives us a long story of a set of heretics, who came out of Gascony into England, under the guidance of a certain Gerard, whom they respected as their prince. They professed to be Christians and to venerate the apostolic

* GROSE'S PROVINCIAL GLOSSARY. Sub voce *Scadding*.

† "Anno regni suo duodecimo, cum rex Stephanus extorta de manibus comitis Cestrensis civitate Lincolnia potiretur, ibidem in celebritate natalis Dominici solemniter voluit coronari, *vetustam superstitionem, qua reges Anglorum eandem civitatem ingredi vetabantur*, laudabiliter parvipendens. Denique incunctanter ingressus, nihil sinistri ominis, sicut illa vanitas comminabatur, expertus est." GUILIELMI NEUBRIGENSIS HISTORIA. Vol. i. Lib. 1. cap. xviii. p. 59. 8vo. Oxonii. 1719.

‡ Id. p. 95. Lib. Primus. Cap. xxviii.

faith, but held the Eucharist, Baptism, and Matrimony, in abhorrence, and upon being threatened with the penalties of the law, they stoutly replied in the words of scripture, "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven."* This argument not satisfying their orthodox judges, they were handed over to the secular authorities and punished as above mentioned, when, as it happened to be the time of a severe winter, they all miserably perished.† For a season this would appear to have given an effectual check to heresy, but the snake was only scotched, not killed. Other heretics followed, and as a natural consequence of the interdiction of fire and water—that is the interdiction of all human aid and intercourse—the condemned heretics formed into societies in various parts; but neither did this please the orthodox; a decree of the Council of Tours forbade all such communings and associations under the severest ecclesiastical penalties.‡

Bells.—It may be difficult to say at what precise period bells first began to be rung by way of triumph. The oldest date, which so far as I know can be assigned to it, is 1574, when the bells were rung throughout England for a great victory obtained over the Scots by the nobles and people of Yorkshire, the Scottish king being taken in the action.§

* S. MATTHEW. Chap. v. ver. 10.

† Gulielmi Neubrigensis Historia. Vol. i. Lib: Secundus, Cap. xiii. p. 147.

‡ "Et quoniam de diversis partibus in unum latibulum crebrò conveniunt, et, præter consensum erroris nullam cohabitandi causam habentes, in uno domicilio commorantur, talia conventicula et investigentur attentius, et, si inventa fuerint, canonica severitate vetentur." Id. Cap. xv. Lib: Secundus, p. 153.

§ "Gestum est hoc feliciter Deo propicio anno a plenitudine temporis quo verbum caro factum est 1574, tertio Idus Julii die Sabbati, et

Horns.—Every great man, whether priest or laic, had in his retinue a multitude of horn-bearers, who upon any stop or disturbance sounded an alarm by blowing their horns. Thus when the keepers of the Forest took away the bows and arrows from the retinue of a certain prior, the horns sounded on either side, and the whole country rose at the signal.*

Graves.—It would appear to have been a custom at one time for bishops to consecrate their own graves. John Stafford, the bishop of Bath and Wells, consecrated his own tomb in a chapel that he had erected in honour of the Virgin Mary and St. Thomas the Martyr.†

Candlesticks.—It was customary for priests of the higher orders to have a candlestick with seven branches sculptured on their tombs. So when John de Hotham, bishop of Ely, was buried in his cathedral church there was an alabaster image of him placed above the tomb, with a candlestick from which proceeded seven branches.‡ Kennett says that it was a fashion of the time, and that it arose from the seven candlesticks in the Apocalypse

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mox latè vulgatum, atque in cunctis Anglorum provinciis gratè susceptum est, *campanis pro solemni lætitia concrepantibus.*" Id. lib: secundus, cap. 33, p. 215. This very particular mention of a circumstance, which, if usual, was much too trifling for record, certainly leads to the conclusion that it was at the time a novelty.

* "In crastino S. Jacobi in via publica juxta Hersorton priore transeunte, forestarii a garcionibus suis ejus arcus et sagittas abstulerunt, et ex utraque parte cornibus ululabant; et ad hanc injuriam patria convenit." ANNALES ECCLESIÆ WIGORNIENSIS. *Anglia Sacra, Whartoni*, p. 511, folio. 1691.

† "Pontificalibus indutus ornamentis, quæ in consecrationis die antea gestaverat, in quibus itidem sepeliri voluit, sepulchrum suum infra dictam capellam solenniter consecravit." Idem.

‡ "Ipse autem sepultus est in ecclesia sua Cathedrali apud Ely, et honorificè collocatus sub quadam pulchrâ staturâ lapideâ, cum imagine episcopi de alabastro super tumulum ipsius erectâ, cum septem candelabris ex uno stipite decentissime procedentibus." HISTORIA ELIENSIS; *Anglia Sacra Whartoni*; p. 648.

having been used to represent the bishops of the seven churches.*

Mel.—"In Yorkshire at the carrying in of the last corn—or harvest-home—the labourers and tenants by way of triumph cry "*mel, mel*; and 'tis a proverbial question, "*when will you get your mel?*" i. e. when doe you end your harvest? at which time all the workmen are treated with a supper by the farmer, where the chief fare is a roast goose called an *inning* goose. The word, *mel*, may be supposed from mæl, an end or term; or feast or banquet."†

Love-Feasts.—"At Danby in the North Riding of Yorkshire, it is the custom for the parishioners after receiving the sacrament to goe from church directly to the ale-house, and there drink together as a testimony of good charity and friendship, a remainder of the old Love-Feasts."‡

Broom.—"Throwing a broom in the way of a witch, if shee does not pass over it, is thought a certain sign of her being a witch. This is now practised in Germany, and specially in Anhault."§

Thunder.—"Iron laid on barrels in time of thunder to preserve the drink from souring. This is a common practice in Kent, and still obtains in Germany."‖

Bride-cake.—"At a wedding-dinner the small cakes used to be laid on top of another, and the bride and bridegroom to kiss over them; and then one to be broke over the bride's head, the bridegroom waiting all dinner. This no doubt is a remnant of the old Roman marriage-custom—the *confarreotio*—instituted by Romulus, the cake being made of a grain called *far*, a species of wheat."¶

* Kennett MS. Coll.—Bibl: Lansdown. (Brit. Mus.) p. 10—1039. Plut. 79. vol. 105.

† Kennett, MS. Idem, fol. 11.

‡ Idem, f. 11.

§ Idem, f. 12.

‖ Idem, f. 12.

¶ Idem, f. 12.

Divination by Ashes.—"It was a long continued custom for maids and men after supper in a winter's evening to make smooth the ashes on the earth, when one certain person with the end of a stick made breaks or gutters in the ashes, and then privately designed that each streak should signify some one unmarried person, and by this way they were to choose husbands and wives. The same way of choosing Valentines by making like furrows in the ashes, and imposing such and such names on them, is now practised in Kent and many other parts."*

Magpies.—"They have a tradition among the vulgar in the north, that all magpies are witches. Their chattering upon a tree near a house is thought to foretell a stranger's coming, like the thief in a candle."†

St. Osith, corruptly called St. Sythe.—"In some parts of the West—I suppose where churches are dedicated to this saint—the women or servants, when they went to bed, raked up their fire and made a × in the ashes, and then prayed to God and St. Sythe to deliver them from fire and from water."‡

Clock-striking.—"Before the civil wars it was a custom for many serious people, every time they heard the clock strike, to say to this effect, 'Lord, grant my last hour may be my best hour.' "§

Well-worship.—"A custom is now yearly observed at Droitwich in Worcestershire, where on the day of St. Richard, the tutelar patron of the *Salt-well,* they keep holy-daie, dress the well fine with flowers and boughs, and divert themselves with eating, and drinking, and dancing. A tradition there that the custom was discontinued by the zeal of the presbyterians for one year during the late civil wars, upon which the spring soon after stopt or dried up, whereupon they renewed

* Idem, fol. 12
† Idem, fol. 13.
‡ Idem, fol. 13.
§ Idem, fol. 14.

the annual custom—notwithstanding some threats of parliament and soldiers—and the salt water again returned."*

St. Antonie, or Tantonie Pigs.—Between 1473 and 1476, King Edward united to the free chapel at Windsor the House, or Hospital, of St. Antony in London, which at one time had been a Jewish synagogue. In doing this he also added many valuable rights and privileges, amongst which was the privilege of sending one St. Antony's pig yearly into every village throughout England. The animal, which was vulgarly called a *Tantonie Pig*, had a bell about his neck, and the peasants, in the hope of obtaining St. Antony's blessing upon their own swine, did not fail to fatten these holy porkers to the best of their abilities. The consequence was that the deans and canons made more than six hundred a year by them, though in the after times of the Protestants it would seem the clergy drove their pigs to a bad market, for they could not make a penny by their herds—"so much more lucrative," says Frith angrily, "is superstition than the orthodox faith." Hence however comes the common saying of "he will follow me like a Tantonie pig."†

* IDEM, fol. 14.

† The passage as quoted by Abp. Kennett in his MS. (Bibl. Lansdown, 1039, Plut. 79 f., vol. c.v.,) is exceedingly curious—"Inter annos 1473 et 1476, Edwardus rex domum sive hospitulam S. Antonii, London, (ubi olim synagoga Judæorum) liberæ capellæ de Windesor adjunxit una cum possessionibus ejusdem minutis ac privilegiorū emolumentis (dum tempus tulit) amplissimis. Ex privilegio unico (inter alia plurima eademque Papalia) hoc est intromittendi porcellum S. Antonianum, vulgariter vocatū *a Tantonie Pigg*, in unamquamque villam per totum *regnum* Angliæ, cum tintinnabulo per collum dependente, cui villani *pabulum* abundè administraverunt, eumque in porcum crescentem quotannis saginaverunt quandiu porcos proprios benedictionem S. *Antonii* inde obtinere opinati sunt. Decani et canonici sexcentas libras annuas et amplius

Blessing of Bacon.—" Anno 1395—33.—John Bukingham, Bp. of Lincolns, takes notice of a custom at Nettleham, near Lincoln, for the people to oblige the rector of the church, at Easter, immediately after high Mass, to bring a piece of bacon to the church, and during the time of service solemnly to bless it; and that being done it was carried from house to house through the parish velut quoddam sacramentale—as something sacred. This Bishop calls it a part of idolatry and a superstitious practice, and as such condemns and forbids it of excommunication. (*Memoranda Bukingham Epi.* MS.) The custom is still observed in many, especially the western parts of England, to bring out the gammon of bacon on Easter Day to entertain their friends."*

Barbers' Sunday-Custom.—" It was an old custom for the barbers to come and shave the parishioners in the churchyard on Sundays and high festivals before matins, which liberty was restrained by a particular inhibition of Richard Flemmyng, Bp. of Lincoln, 1422."†

Burning of the Hill.—(Mendip Hills; Somersetshire.) " The *Groviers*,—for so the miners are called, as the pits they sink are called *groves*—living at some distance, leave their tools, and the ore they have got, sometimes open upon the hill, or at most only shut up in a slight hut. Whoever among them steals any thing, and is found guilty, is thus punished; he is shut up in a hut, and then dry fern, furz, and such other combustible matter, is put round it, and fire set to it. When it is on fire, the criminal, who has his hands and feet at liberty, may

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per procuratores suos percipiebant, unde ne denarium quidem hodie capiunt. Tantò magis est lucritiva superstitio quam religio orthodoxa. Unde proverbiù nunc temporis agitatum, '*he will follow me like a Tantonie pig*'—FRITH; CATAL. DECAN. ET CANON, de Windesor."

* IDEM, folio 16.

† IDEM, folio 16.

with them (if he can) break down his hut, and making himself a passage out of it, get free and be gone; but he must never come to work, nor have to do any more on the hill. This they call, BURNING OF THE HILL."*

Riding of Women.—"Here also died Anne, wife of King Richard II., sister to Wenceslaus, the emperor, and daughter of the emperor Charles IV.; she first taught the English women that way of riding on horseback, which is now in use, whereas formerly their custom was—though a very unbecoming one—to ride astride like the men."†

Roses on Graves.—"Here also (Ockley, in Surry, so called from the oaks)—is a certain custom, observed time out of mind, of planting rose-trees upon the graves, especially by the young men and maids, who have lost their lovers, so that this church-yard is now full of them. It is the more reasonable, because we may observe it to have been anciently used both among the Greeks and Romans, who were so very religious in it, that we find it often annexed as a codicil to their wills—(as appears by an old inscription at Ravenna, and another at Milan. Hence that of Propertius implying the usage of burying amidst roses.‡ And old Anacreon speaking of it says that 'it does protect the dead.' "§

Debts in the Isle of Man.—"They had here an old custom concerning debts which is now abolished. When the debtor died and was buried, and there remained no

* Camden's Britannia, by Gibson, vol. 1, p. 185, fol., London. 1772.

† Id., vol. 1, p. 238.

‡ "Illa meo caros donasset funere crines,
Molliter et tenera poneret ossa rosâ."
PROPERTII ELEGIA xvii. v. 21.

§ Camden's Britannia, vol. 1, p. 236. The passage alluded to by Camden is Anacreon's second *Ode to the Rose.*

"Τοῦτ' καὶ νοσοῦσιν ἀρκεῖ
Τοῦτ' καὶ νεκροῖς ἀμύνει."

writings to prove the debt, the creditor came to the grave of the deceased and laid himself all along with his back upon the grave, with his face towards Heaven, and a bible on his breast; and there he protested before God that is above him, and by the contents of the bible on his breast, that the decease there buried under him did owe him so much money, and then the executors were bound to pay him. But in the year 1609 this custom was abolished."*

Leap-Candle—Dancing the Candle Rush.—"The young girls in and about Oxford have a sport called *Leap-Candle*, for which they set a candle in the middle of the room in a candlestick, and then draw up their coats into the form of breeches, and dance over the candle back and forth with these words,

> The tailor of Biciter† he has but one eye
> He can not cut a pair of green galagaskins if he were to die.

This sport is called in other parts, *dancing the candle-rush.*"‡

Invisibility.—"Take on Midsummer night at twelve, when all the planets are above the earth, a serpent, and kill him, and skinne him; and dry it in the shade, and bring it to a powder. *Hold* it in your hand, and it will be invisible. This receipt is in Joannes de Florentia (a Rosycrucian) a booke in 8vo. in High Dutch. Dr. Ridgeley, the physitian hath it, who told me of this."§

A Magicall Receipt to know whom we shall marry —"Eggs roasted hard, and the yolke taken out, and salt putt in its

* IDEM; *Additions to the Isle of Man;* p. 1066, Gibson's Edition of 1695.

† i.e. Bicester, Bisseter, or Burcester, situated on a stream that runs into the Charwell at Islip.

‡ AUBREY'S REMAINS OF GENTILISME, fol. 123. MS. Bibl: Lansdown; 231. This notice however has the initials M. K. to it.

§ Idem, folio 131.

sted, filled up, to be eaten fasting to your supper when you goe to bed. Mrs. Fines of Albery* in Oxfordshire did thus; she dreamt of an ancient grey, or white-haired man, and such a shape, which was her husband. This I had from her owne mouth.†"

A marginal note however says, "I think only one egge."

Dumb-Cakes.—"The maids of Oxfordshire have a way of foreseeing their sweethearts by making a *dumb-cake.* That is, on some Friday night several maids and batchelors bring every one a little flower, and every one a little salt, and every one blows an egge, and every one helps to make it into past; then every one makes the cake, and lays it on the gridiron, and every one turns it, and when bakt enough every one breaks a piece, and eats one part and laies the other just under their pillow to dream of the person they shall marry. But all this to be done in serious silence without one word or one smile, or else the cake looses the name and the value. W. K.‡"

New-Moon.—"In Yorkshire, &c., northwards, some country-women doe worship the new moon on their bare knees, kneeling on an earth-fast steane§"—i.e. upon a stone that is firm in the earth.

Misselto (Mistletoe).—"As for the magical qualities of this plant, and conceived efficacy unto veneficial intentions, it seemeth a pagan relique, borrowed from the ancient Druiden, the great admirers of oak, especially the misselto that grows thereon; which according to the particular [statement] of Pliny they gathered with great

* I know of no such place as Albury, or Albery, in Oxfordshire. Bayne's INDEX VILLARUM gives two places of that name in Surrey, and one in Gloucestershire.

† IDEM, folio 137.

‡ IDEM, folio 139. I have also given another account of the *Dumb-Cake* at p. 31 of this volume.

§ IDEM, folio 151.

solemnity. For after sacrifice the priest in a white garment ascended the tree, cut down the misselto with a golden hook, and received it in a white coate;* the virtue whereof was to resist all poisons, and make fruitful any that used it—vertues not expected from classical practice; and did they fully answer their promise, which are so commended in epileptical intentions,† we would abate‡ these qualities. Country practice§ hath added another,—to provoke after-birth—and in that case its decoction is given untb cows. That the berries are poison as some conceive, we are so far from averring, that we have safely given them inwardly; and can confirm the experiment of Brassavolus, that they have some purgative quality."‖

Oak-leaves and Acorns.—"The Druides performed no sacred services without the leaves of oak, and not only the Germans, but the Greeks, adorned their altars with green leaves of oak. In the rites performed to Ceres they were crowned with oak; in those of Apollo, with bays; in those to Hercules with poplar; in those to Bacchus with myrtle (qy. vine?) Was not the oak

* i.e., a white cloth, or tunic. In Holland's translation of Pliny, from whom it is plain that Aubrey has borrowed this account, we find, "the priest araied in a surplesse or white vesture climeth up into the tree, and with a golden hooke or bill cutteth it off, and they beneath receive it in a *white soldier's cassock or coat of arms.* (Holland's Pliny, Book xvi, chap. 44, p. 497, vol. 1.) Now the original word in Pliny is indeed *sagum*, which in its most common acceptation meant a military robe; but as soldiers' equipments seem quite out of place in a religious ceremony, and as *sagum* was also used for the *cloth*, of which the cassock was made, I have no doubt that Pliny meant us merely to understand a white cloth, or woollen robe.

† i.e. Tendencies.

‡ Disregard, dispense with.

§ By *country-practice*, Aubrey means the practice of the rustics.

‖ AUBREY'S REMAINS of Gentilisme, &c.; folio 154.

abused by the Druides to superstition? And yet our late reformers gave order, which was universally observed accordingly, for the acorn, the fruit of the oak, to be set upon the top of their maces, or crowns, instead of the cross."*

Herefordshire Charm—"Mrs. Clarke, a Herefordshire Woman.—Bury the head of a black catt with a Jacobus, or a piece of gold in it, and putt into the eies too black beanes. (What was to be donne with the beanes she had forgot). But it must be donne on a Tuesday at twelve o'clock at night; and that time nine nights the piece of gold must be taken out; and whatever you buy with it, (always reserving some part of the money) you will have money brought into your pocket; perhaps the same piece of gold again."†

Funeral Garlands.—"It is a custome still at the funerall of young virgins to have a garland of flowers carried on the corpse, which is hung up in the church over her grave."‡

Salt—"The falling of Salt is an authentic presager of ill-luck, nor can every temper contemn it; nor was the same a general prognostic among the ancients of future evil, but a particular omination concerning the breach of friendship; for salt, as incorruptible, was the symbole of friendship, and, before the other service, was offered unto their guests. But whether salt were not only a symbol of friendship with man but also a figure of amity, and reconciliation with God, and was therefore offered in sacrifices, is a higher speculation."§

Fairies.—"When I was a boy,‖ our country-people would

* IDEM, folio 162.
† IDEM, folio 166.
‡ IDEM, folio 171.
§ IDEM, folio 172.
‖ i.e. when Aubrey was a boy; for he is the narrator of this fable, and writes in 1625-6, November 3rd, at Esaton-Piers, in the north division of Wiltshire.

talke much of them. They sweapt up the hearth cleane at night, and did sett their shoes by the fire, and many times they should find a threepence in one of them. Mrs. Markey, a daughter of serjeant Hoskyns the poet, told me that her mother did use that custom; and had as much money as made her, or bought her, a little silver cup, thirtie shillings value."*

Pewits—Staffordshire—"But the strangest web-footed water-fowle that frequents this county is the Larus cinereus Ornotholgi, the Larus Cinereus tertius Aldrovandi, and the Cepphus of Gesner and Turner—in some counties called the Black Cap; in others the Sea, or Mire-Crow; here the Pewit—which, being of the migratory kind, came annually to certain pooles in the estate of the right worshipful Sir Charles Skrymsher, knight, to build and breed, and to no other estate in, or neer, the county, but of this family to which they have belonged ultra hominum memoriam, and never mooved from it, though they have changed their station often. They anciently came to the old Pewit poole above mentioned, about half a mile S. W. of Norbury church, but it being their strange quality (as the whole family will tell you, to whom I refer the reader for the following relation) to be disturbed and remove upon the death of the head of it as they did within memory, upon the death of James Skrymsher Esq., to Offley Moss near Wood's Eves, which Moss, though containing two gentlemen's lands, yet (which is very remarkable), the pewits did discern betwixt the one and the other, and build only on the land of the next heir, John Skrymsher, Esq., so wholly were they addicted to this family. At which Moss they continued about three years, and then removed to the old pewit-poole again, where they continued to the death of the said John Skrymsher Esq. which happening on the eve to our Lady-day the very

* IDEM, folio 180.

time when they are laying their eggs, yet so concerned were they at this gentleman's death, that notwithstanding this tye of the law of nature, which has ever been held to be universal and perpetual, they left their nest and eggs; and though they made some attempts of laying again at Offley-Moss, yet they were still so disturbed that they bred not at all that year. The next year after they went to Aqualat, to another gentleman's estate of the same family, (where though tempted to stay with all the care imaginable) yet continued there but two years, and then returned again to another poole of the next heir of John Skrymsher deceased, called Shebben-poole in the parish of High Offley where they continue to this day, and seem to be the propriety, as I may say (though a wild-fowle) of the right worshipful Sir Charles Skrymsher, knight, their present lord and master."*

It is amusing to find a learned doctor of laws gravely recording such absurdities as these without the slightest doubt or hesitation. A useful lesson, however, may be derived from it by those who choose to do so. If things of this nature can be so attested, it is plain that human testimony is absolutely worthless when opposed to reason, and the necessity for the constant exercise of our own understanding becomes the more evident.

* Dr. Plot's *Natural History of Staffordshire*; p. 231. folio. Oxford, 1686.

THE MONTHS—DECEMBER.

DECEMBER is so called from the Latin December, as being the tenth month from March, while with our Anglo-Saxon forefathers it had the name of *Christmonat*—because in this month Christ was born—*Wintermonath*, or *Midwintermonath*, and *Giul Erra*, meaning the first or former Giul. It was the feast of Thor, and was celebrated in the *mother-night*, that is to say at the winter solstice. Of the derivation of Giul I have already spoken at some length, and any repetition would be useless. In Northumberland this month was called *Hagmana*, a word of which I shall presently have occasion to make mention.

It may now be said to be winter, both according to the weather and the almanack, though they do not always agree.* The winds about this time are high and frequent,

* The seasons, however, do not admit of being fixed with absolute precision, although for common purposes they may be thus divided :—

WINTER—*popularly* comprises December, January, and February : *Astronomically*, it begins when the sun enters Capricorn, which is about the 21st of December, that is to say at the time of the Winter Solstice ; and ends when the sun enters Aries, which is about the 21st of March, that is to say, at the time of the Vernal Equinox.

SPRING—*popularly* comprises March, April, and May : *Astronomically*, it begins when the sun enters Aries ; and ends when the sun

and as a natural consequence all the trees are leafless, with the exception only of a few oaks and beeches that stoutly defy the worst violence of the season. Yet amidst this desolation winter is not without its Flora, the berries of the evergreens and of other shrubs supplying in some sort the absence of buds and flowers; thus we have the *Holly* with its scarlet berries: the *Ivy* with its green berries; and the *Pyracantha* with its berries of deep orange; all of them moreover dressed out in their winter foliage. Then we find, though with bare branches, the *White-Thorn* or *May-Bush*, presenting its red berries, and the *Black Thorn* loaded with its blueish-grey sloes, besides the *Dog-Rose* and other *Roses*. Nor is there any want of plants; the *Scented Coltsfoot* blows now, and in mild seasons continues to do so till the middle of February, scenting the air with odours that are by no means ungrateful. Yet later—perhaps not till the middle of January—the *White Coltsfoot* blossoms; and soon after Christmas the *Winter Hellebore*, or *Aconite*, unfolds its yellow flowers. About the same time the *Black Hellebore*, or *Christmas Rose*, blossoms; while *Daisies*, *Stocks*, *Wallflowers*, *Leopard's Bane*, *Dead Nettles*, *Polyanthuses*, *Primroses*, *Laurestine*, the *Arbutus*, *Misletoe*, and some others will also often continue in flower up to Christmas.

VIGIL OF ST. NICHOLAS. — *December* 5th. — In this country the Eve of St. Nicholas meets with little notice,

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enters Cancer, which is about the 21st of June, that is to say, at the time of the Summer Solstice.

SUMMER—*popularly* comprises June, July, and August: *Astronomically*, it begins when the sun enters Cancer; and ends when the sun enters Libra, which is about the 22nd of September, that is to say, at the time of the Autumnal Equinox.

AUTUMN—*popularly* comprises September, October, and November: *Astronomically*, it begins when the sun enters Libra; and ends when the sun enters Capricorn, about the 21st of December, the time of the Winter Solstice.

but a custom at one time prevailed in Franconia, which as it tends to illustrate ancient manners, and is therefore not altogether unconnected with our subject, may be thought worthy of mention. Parents in that country used to supply their children with secret presents, pretending that they had come from St. Nicholas, who, according to them, had a fairy-like fancy for popping in at the closed windows and leaving his gifts behind him. To keep up this delusion they would convey the intended gifts into the children's shoes, which had been left under the table to be the more ready for the reception of whatever might be sent; and so eager were the young expectants, and such strict fast would they at times maintain to secure the hoped-for donations, that the sage deluders, who had led them on to this folly, would find it necessary to interfere for their health's sake.* A similar custom of conveying secret gifts on this day did prevail, and perhaps is not yet obsolete, in Italy and France. The boarders in certain convents would each one, upon the Eve of St. Nicholas, place a silk stocking at the Abbess' door, with

* Vigiliam diei pueri a parentibus jejunare eo modo invitantur, quòd persuasum habeant ea munuscula, quæ noctu ipsis in calceos sub mensam ad hoc locatos imponuntur, se a largissimo præsule Nicolao percipere; unde tanto desiderio plerique jejunant, ut quia eorum sanitati timeatur ad cibum compellendi sunt."—Boemi Aubani Orbis Terrarum Epitome; Lib. iii. cap. 15, p. 242.

Hildebrand also makes mention of the same sort of thing:—"Denique in nostris ecclesiis nocte natali parentes varia munuscula, crepundia, cistellas, vestes, vehicula, poma, nuces, &c. liberis suis donant, quibus plerumque virga additur, ut metu castigationis eò facilius regnantur. Dantur hæc munuscula *nomine* S. Christi, quem per tegulas, vel fenestras illabi, vel cum angelis domos obire fingunt. Mos iste similiter a Saturnalibus Gentilium descendere videtur, in quibus ethnicos sportulas sive varia munera ultrò citròque misisse antiquissimus Patrum, Tertullianus, meminit in *Lib. de Persecutione.*"—J. Hildebrandi de Diebus Festis Libellus, p. 23. *Festum Nativit. Christi.* § 8.

a piece of paper enclosed commending themselves to *Great St. Nicholas of her Chamber.* The next day all the votarists assembled to see how far they had been noticed by the saint, when they were sure to find the stockings filled with sweetmeats and other trifles of the same kind, upon which they afterwards made a holy feast.*

These customs are said to have originated in the saint's disposition to secret charity, as exemplified in the following legend—A poor man, in the village of Patara, had three handsome daughters, and, not being able to support them, advised them to seek a subsistence by prostitution. This coming to the ears of St. Nicholas, he determined to relieve them; but as he did not like his little charities to be known, the holy man sallied forth at night upon his benevolent expedition, and, perceiving by the moonlight that their chamber-window was open, he flung in a purse of money, and then took himself off as fast as possible.†

FEAST OF ST. NICHOLAS.—*December* 6th.—This saint, whose Eve I have just been recording, and who was

* See BRADY'S CLAVIS CALENDARIA, vol. ii. p. 297.

† En la ville de Patare, un homme de bonne maison avoit trois fort belles filles, toutes trois, en âge d'estre mariées, qui par diverses infortunes estoit tombé en si grande necessité, que non seulement il n'avoit pas le moyen de marier ses filles, mais il n'avoit pas desquoy les nourir. Et comme les hommes perdent ordinairement le respect qu'ils doivent porter à Dieu, sans reconnoitre d'ou leur vient le dommage, ce miserable conseilla à ses filles de se prostituer pour gayner leur vie, comme si Dieu ne les eust pû sustenter sans estre offense, et comme s'il n'eust pas esté plus expedient de mourir mille fois de faim que de l'offenser. Le desastre de cette maison vint à la connoissance de Saint Nicolas, qui resolut aussi-tost de remedier à cette necessité, neanmoins en sorte qu'on ne sceust point que cela vinst de luy; car son humilité luy faisoit, fuïr la vaine gloire. Il prit une bonne somme d'or, l'envelopa en un linge, et sortit de nuit de sa maison pour s'en aller auprés de celle ou estoit logé ce pauvre gentilhomme; il découvrit à la clarté de la lune une fenestra de la chambre, où il estoit couché, entr'ouverte, et jettant son aumône par là se retira plus viste que le pas."—RIBADENEIRA—LES FLEURS DES VIES DES SAINTES, p. 553, tome ii. Folio. Paris, 1686.

Bishop of Myra, was born at Patara, in Lycia, early in the fourth century. He seems to have succeeded Neptune, or Castor and Pollux, as the guardian saint of seamen, a nautical miracle, performed by him, being the occasion of his arriving at this distinction. He had taken it into his head to turn hermit, and with this view he embarked aboard an Egyptian ship on his way to Jerusalem. Now it so happened that the devil also had gotten a fancy for voyaging at the same time, and entered the ship sword in hand with the intention of sending it to the bottom. The sailors did not see him, but the saint, who had always sharp eyes where his old enemy was concerned, detected the fiend in spite of his incognito, and warned his companions to prepare for a dreadful tempest. So too it really happened. The storm arose, and with such fury that the seamen, unable to work the ship any longer, entreated the saint since he had foreseen the hurricane, that he would pray for them now it had come. He did so, and the tempest ceased at once. Nay, for the greater glorification of Nicholas, the man at the wheel was struck dead in order to give him an opportunity of bringing the poor fellow to life again.* But perhaps the greatest miracle in con-

* "Quelque années aprés il eut envie de visiter les saintes lieux de Jerusalem; et de la se retirer dans quelque desert, pour vivre loin du tumulte et de la frequentation du monde; et pour ce sujet s'embarqua dans un vaisseau qui alloit en Egypte. A la sortie du port ils eurent le vent en poupe, la mer calme, et les temps beau; mais le saint vit entrer le diable dans le navire, furieux, l'épée nuë a la main, qui se mettoit en devoir de couler le vaisseau à fond. Alors Saint Nicolas connut par inspiration divine ce qui devoit arriver, et dit aux mariniers, qu'ils se preparassent a soûtenir une horrible tempeste, qui se leva tout à coup, et fut si grande qu'ils pensoient estre tous perdus, et se jettoient aux pieds du Saint, le suppliant, puisque Dieu luy avoit revelé cet orage avant que de l'envoyer, à present qu'il estoit venu de l'appaiser par ses prieres. Saint Nicolas fit oraison, et à l'instant le ciel s'appraisa, les vents cesserent, la mer l'applanit, et ceux qui pen-

nection with him is that his marble monument actually sweated oil;

> No olives on the marble grow
> Yet thence the oily fountains flow.* ,

This saint was variously painted, the pictures containing allusions, which it has much puzzled the expounders of such mysteries to interpret. Sometimes he is painted with three children; now this may refer to three young soldiers, who having been shipwrecked and unjustly accused of theft, Saint Nicholas released them from the hands of the judge, when he had condemned them to death; or it may refer to the three young women whom he relieved as I have just mentioned; or it may allude to three captives whom he saved from hanging; or it may be a memorial of his having restored to life three children who had been killed, salted, and pickled. "Here" says Molanus† triumphantly, "are four ternaries!"—yet he owns he can not choose amongst them, and infinitely prefers a picture of the Saint at Rome wherein he is represented with an apple in one hand, a book in the other, and above him three wedges of gold, with which he preserved the chastity of the triad of maidens as I have before narrated. This picture, he adds, may be frequently seen transferred to

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soient estre perdus, revinrent de mort à vie, et en remercierent Notre Seigneur. Et afin que les merites de Saint Nicolas fussent rendus plus illustres en ce même voyage, l'un des mariniers, qui plioit le bourset au haut de la lune tombu roide mort dans le navire. Saint Nicolas, ayant pitie pour luy, le ressuscita."—RIBADENEIRA, p. 554, tome ii.

* So at least says the Toledan Breviary, an unquestionable authority.

> "Cujus tumba fert oléum
> Matres olivæ nesciunt;
> Quod natura non protulit
> Marmor sudando parturit."

† De Historia S. Imag. et Pict. p. 456. Lib. iii. Cap. 53.

coins; and particularly in the island of Corfu, where St. Nicholas is held in especial veneration.*

The most important feature of this festival is the election of the BOY BISHOP.—*Episcopus Puerorum; Episcopus Choristarum.* To come to a right understanding of this matter it is requisite that we should first see what the ceremony really was, and then enquire into the cause of its connection with St. Nicholas.

The festival of the Boy Bishop was not confined to one country, and of course therefore it may be easily imagined that it assumed a very different complexion, according to time and place, being in one locality of a serious character, and in another verging closely on the burlesque. The best account we have of it in the first of these forms is from the learned John Gregorie, whose attention was called to the subject by happening to find that "in the cathedral of Sarum† there lieth a monument in stone, of a little boie habited all in episcopal robes, a miter upon his head, a crosier in his hand, and the rest accordingly. The monument laie long buried [itself] ‡ under the seats near the pulpit, at the removal whereof it was of late years discovered, and translated from thence to the north part of the nave, where it now lieth betwixt the pillars, covered over with a box of wood, not without

* "Longe itaque præfero alteram Nicolai picturam quæ Romæ est et per Italiam alibi. Habet in una manu pomum, in altera librum, et super eum tres massas auri, quibus filiarum trium pudicitiam cõservavit. Quam etiam picturam videre licet in nummis quibusdam expressam. Eandemque nonnulli observarunt usitatam esse in Insula, Corfu, quæ Nicolaum summa cũ veneratione colit." *D. Joannes Molanus* DE HISTORIA S. IMAGINUM ET PICTURARUM, p. 456. Cap. 53. Lib. iii. 12mo. Lugduni. 1619.

† i. e. Salisbury.

‡ This word *itself* is evidently superfluous, and is therefore placed within brackets.

a general imputation of raritie and reverence, it seeming almost impossible to everie one, that either a Bishop could bee so small in person, or a childe so great in clothes." Finding that he could obtain no solution of this mystery from the learned, Gregory obtained a sight of the *Old Statutes* of the cathedral, and was fortunate enough to find one amongst them with the title De Episcopo Choristarum—*of the Choirister Bishop.* This referred him to the *Sarum Processionale,** in which he found the following minute and curious description of the ceremony—"The Episcopus Choristarum was a Chorister Bishop chosen by his fellow children upon St. Nicholas daie.... From this daie 'till Innocents' Daie at night, (it lasted longer at the first) the *Episcopus Puerorum*" (Boy Bishop) "was to bear the name, and hold up the state of a bishop, answerably habited with a crosier, or pastoral staff in his hand, and a miter upon his head; and such an one too som had, as was *multis episcoporum mitris sumtuosior,* saith one—verie much richer then those of bishops indeed. The rest of his fellows from the same time beeing were to take upon them the style and counterfaict of prebends, yielding to their bishop (or els as if it were) no less then canonical obedience. And look what service the verie bishop himself with his dean and prebends (had they been to officiate) was to have performed, the mass excepted, the verie same was don by the Chorister-bishop and his canons upon this Eve and the Holiedaie. By the use of Sarum, —for 'tis almost the onely place where I can hear anie thing of this;† that of York in their *Processional* seemeth to

* The *Processionale,* or *Processional,* was a book describing the processions to be used on various occasions in the Romish church.

† This is somewhat surprising, for, as we shall presently see, the custom was tolerably universal; and yet Gregory, in defiance of Brand's impertinent sneer, was a man of extensive research.

take no notice of it—upon the Eve to Innocents' Daie the chorister-bishop was to go in solemn procession with his fellows *ad altare Sanctæ Trinitatis et omnium Sanctorum* (as the PROCESSIONAL—or *ad altare Innocentium sive Sanctæ Trinitatis*, as the PIE*) *in capis, et cereis ardentibus in manibus*, in their copes, and burning tapers in their hands, the bishop beginning and the other boies following, *centum quadraginta quatuor &c.* Then the vers, *hi empti sunt ex omnibus &c.* And this is sang by three of the boies. Then all the boies sing the PROSA† *sedentem in supernæ majestatis arce, &c.* The chorister bishop in the meantime fumeth the altar first, and then the image of the Holie Trinitie. Then the bishop saith *modesta voce* the vers *lætamini*; and

* The PIE was the old Romish service book, and in a more lax sense was sometimes used to express the rules contained in it. Wheatley in his RATIONAL ILLUSTRATION OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER (p. 142, chap. iii. sec. 9,) says, "the number and hardness of the rules called the PIE, and the manifold changing of the service, was the cause that to turn the book only was so hard and intricate a matter, that many a times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out." Upon this text he observes in a note, "the word PIE, some suppose, derives its name from *πινακ*, which the Greeks sometimes use for *table* or *index*; though others think these tables or indexes were called the PIE, from the parti-coloured letters whereof they consisted, the initial and some other remarkable letters and words being done in red, and the rest in black. And upon this account when they translate it into Latin, they call it *pica*. From whence it is supposed that when printing came in use, those letters, which were of a moderate size (i. e. about the bigness of those in the comments and tables) were called *pica* letters."

† PROSA, or PROSE, is a name for certain songs of rejoicing in the Romish church, which are chaunted before the gospel or the greater festivals, and are so called because the regular laws of metre are not observed in them. These chaunts have also the appellation of SEQUENTIA, or SEQUENTS, because they are *sequent* to, or follow, the HALLELUJAH in the place of the PNEUMA, which is also a song of jubilation, but one of a peculiar kind, in which not the voice, but the tones are drawn out in singing, and as that is done with some difficulty of respiration it is called *pneuma*.

the respond* is *Et gloriamini &c.* Then the praier which wee yet retain—*Deus cujus hodierna die &c.* But the rubrick to the pie saith, *sacerdos dicat* both the praier and the lætamini—that is, som rubricks do ; otherwise I take the benediction to bee of more priestlie consequence then the *oremus &c.*, which yet was solemnly performed by the chorister-bishop, as will follow. In their return from the altar, *præcentor* puerorum incipiat, &c.—the chanter-chorister is to begin—De Sancta Maria &c. The respond is *felix namque &c.*, sic processio &c. The procession was made into the quire by the west door, and in such order (as it should seem by Molanus) that the dean and canons went foremost, the chaplains next, the bishop with his little prebends in the last and highest place. The bishop taketh his seat, and the rest of the children dispose of themselves upon each side of the quire upon the uppermost asscent, the canons resident bearing the incens and the book and the petit canons, the tapers, according to the rubrick. And from this hour to the full end of the

* A *respond* is a short anthem, interrupting the middle of a chapter which is not to proceed 'till the anthem is done. The long responses are used at the close of the lessons. (Wheatley's Rat. Illustr. p. 142.) I may as well take this opportunity of explaining from the same authority two or three similar words that occur constantly in the writers of the Romish Church. VERSES—either the *versicle* that follows the *respond* in the breviary, or else those hymns, which are proper to every Sunday and holyday, composed in the most illiterate ages of Christianity. COMMEMORATIONS—are the mixing the service of some holyday of lesser note with the service of a Sunday or holyday of greater eminency, on which the less holyday happens to fall. In which case it is appointed by the ninth general rule in the breviary that only the *hymns, verses*, &c., and some other part of the service of the lesser holyday be annexed to that of the greater. SYNODALS—were the publication or recital of the *Provincial Constitutions* in the parish churches; for after the conclusion of every provincial synod, the canons thereof were to be read in the churches, and the tenor of them to be declared and made known to the people; and some of them to be annually repeated on certain Sundays in the year.

next daies procession, none of the clergy, whatever may be their rank, ascend to the upper seats.

Then the Bishop from his seat says the vers, *speciosus formâ* &c. *Diffusa est gratia labiis tuis.* Then the praier, *Deus qui salutis æternæ* &c. *Pax vobis.* Then after the *Benedicamus Domino*, the Bishop of the Children sitting in his seat is to give the benediction, or bless the people in this manner. *Princeps Ecclesiæ, pastor ovilis, cunctam plebem tuam benedicere digneris* &c. Then turning towards the people hee singeth or saith (for all this was in plano cantu; that age was so far from skilling discants or the fuges that they were not come up to counterpoint) *Cum mansuetudine humilitate vos ad benedictionem,* the chorus answering *Deo gratias.* Then the cross-bearer delivereth up the crosier to the bishop again, and then the bishop, having first crossed his forehead says, *Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini,* the chorus answering *qui fecit cælum et terram.* Then, after some other like ceremonies performed, the Episcopus Puerorum, or Chorister Bishop, begineth the *Completorium* or *Complyn,* and that don hee turneth towards the quire and saith *Adjutorium* &c. then last of all hee saith, *Benedicat vos omnipotens-Deus Pater, et filius, et spiritus sanctus.*

On Innocent's Day *at the second vespers let the cross-bearer receive the crosier of the boy-bishop, and let them sing the antiphon as at the first vespers. Likewise let the boy-bishop bless the people in the way above mentioned, and the service of this day be thus fulfilled.** Rubric Processional. And all this was don with that solemnitie of celebration and appetite of seeing that the statute of Sarum was forced to provide that no man whatsoever under the pain of anathema should interrupt or press upon these children at the procession spoken of before, or in anie other part of their service in anie waies, but to suffer them quietly to

* I have taken the liberty in this and some other places of putting the rubric itself into English, but have left the chaunts, antiphons, &c. undisturbed.

perform and exsecute what it concerned them to do. And the part was acted yet more earnestly, for Molanus* saith that this bishop in some places did receiv rents, capons, &c. during his year &c.† And it seemeth by the statute of Sarum, that hee held a kind of visitation, and had a full corespondencie of all other state and prerogative. More then all this, Molanus tells us of a chorister-bishop in the church of Cambraie, who disposeth of a prebend, which fell void in his moneth (or year, for I know not which it was) to his master. In case the chorister-bishop died within the moneth, his exsequies were solemnized with an answerable glorious pomp and sadness. He was buried, as all other bishops, in all his ornaments, as by the monument of stone, spoken of before, it plainly appeareth."‡

To this description Gregorie has added the monumental figure of the boy-bishop in Sarum Cathedral, with an animal lying at his feet, which has to all appearance the head and body of a dog though much defaced, while the tail would seem to indicate a dragon. If the little monster, as Gregorie calls him, be intended for the latter, the allusion is plainly enough to the old story of bruising the head of the serpent. This would indeed seem to be the

* The works of Molanus are numerous, and Gregorie has forgotten to tell us to which one he alludes. His disquisition on the *Pictures and Images of Saints* I have already had occasion to quote from, and it is really well worth the attention of the curious reader.

† The boy-bishop, being once elected, was not to feast abroad, but to confine himself to the society of his companions, perform his sacred functions in the church, and in all respects act up to his assumed dignity. Gregorie quotes the Statute of Sarum to this effect—"Electus autem puer Chorista in episcopum modo solito pŭerile officium in ecclesia (prout fieri consuevit) licenter exsequatur, convivium aliquod de cætero vel visitationem, exterius vel interius, nullatenus; sed in domo communi cum sociis conversetur &c. ecclesiam et scholas cum cæteris choristis statim post festum Innocentium frequentando &c."

‡ GREGORII POSTHUMA, or CERTAIN LEARNED TRACTS, written by John Gregorie, p. 114. 4to. London, 1649.

more probable explanation of the figure, the only thing against it being that we so often find the dog occupying the same place in ancient sepulchres. Thus we are told by the Nubian geographer when speaking of the seven sleepers: "*The Inhabitants of the Cavern* are in a certain middle province between Amorræa and Nicæa; and that subterranean is in a mountain less than a thousand cubits high, in which there is a ladder-like way leading from its base up to that spot wherein lie the said *inhabitants*. On the summit of the mountain is a cave like to a well, by which you descend to the gate of your journey, and having passed through it for somewhat more than a quarter of a mile, you come to a place open to the day-light, where you behold a portico supported on columns cut out of the rock, with little chambers; amongst these is one, the entrance of which is about a man's height, having a stone door, and within it repose the dead, who are called the *Inhabitants of the Cavern*. They are seven in number, and lie upon their sides, being anointed with aloes, myrrh, and Kafur.* At the feet of each lies a dog, rolled up as it were, his head reflexed upon his tail."†

The youth, however, who was elected to the high pri-

* *Kafur*, I believe, is camphor.

† "Incolæ cavernæ sunt in provincia quadam media inter Amorræam et Nicæam; et caverna illa est in monte minus quam mille cubitis alto, in quo patet via schalæ instar, a terræ solo ad eum usque locum perducens, in quo jacent predicti incolæ speluncæ. In summitate montis cernitur caverna puteo similis, per quam descendere licet ad januam itineris per quod trecentorum passuum spatio cum progressus fueris exibis in locum luminosum ubi cernes porticum excisis sustentatam columnis cum aliquot cubiculis, inter quæ unum deprehendes cubiculum habens limen unius mensura staturæ, cum janua de lapidibus excisis, et intra illud mortuos, qui vocantur incolæ Arracquim. Sunt autem numero septem, dormiuntque super latera sua, quæ sunt oblita aloë, myrrha, et Kafur; et ad eorum pedes canis jacet convolutus capite ad caudam reflexo."—GEOGRAPHIA NUBIENSIS in Lat. versa a *G. Simita et J. Hesronita*. Pars Quarta. p. 235. Parisiis. 1619.

vileges that I have just been describing, was not chosen without due reference to his mental and bodily qualifications. It was indispensable that he should be well versed in the church ceremonies, and that he should be handsome, or else his election became null and void.* From this it would seem that the clergy considered the ceremony as important, and one which was likely to influence the minds of the people, a supposition that is yet farther strengthened when we find it strictly forbidden by Henry the Eighth,† and revived by his daughter Mary.‡ For this revival a special enactment was issued by the bishop of London, and it certainly does not say much for the fervour or the orthodoxy of the people that the pageant should have been so great a favourite as it evidently was with them. When on the subsequent Saint Nicolas' Eve the Cardinal ordered that the Boy-Bishop should not walk abroad because he had summoned the head of the clergy to him at Lambeth House to be absolved of their sins, these Saint Nicolases were still carried about in divers parishes to the great delight of the citizens.§

* "Capitulum ordinavit, quod electio Episcopi Puerorum in ecclesia Eboracensi de cætero fieret de eo, qui diutius et magis in dicta ecclesia laboraverit, et magis idoneus repertus fuerit, dum tamen competenter sit corpore formosus, et quod aliter facta electio non valebit." —REGISTR. ARCHIV. ECCLES. EBOR.—as quoted by Warton in his History of English Poetry, vol. iii. p. 303.

† This was by a solemn proclamation in the 33rd year of his reign, A.D. 1541. See BISHOP HALL'S TRIUMPHS OF ROME. To be sure Henry had by this time quarrelled with Rome, and made himself, if not in name, at least in reality, the Pope of England.

‡ Strype, in his HISTORICAL MEMORIALS, (vol. iii. chap. xxv. p. 202) records under the head of November 13, "it was commanded by the Bishop of London to all clerks in his diocese to have S. Nicolas, that is a boy-bishop, in procession, and to go abroad, as many as were so minded, according to an old superstition."

§ "On the 5th of December, the which was St. Nicolas' Eve, at evensong time came a commandment that St. Nicolas should not go abroad nor about. But notwithstanding it seems so much were the

But the custom, so far from being confined to this country, would seem to have been common throughout Europe. We find a specific mention of its existence in Franconia by Boemus Aubanus,* and indeed its origin may be traced up to a very remote period, though, as might be expected, under a somewhat different form. In the Constantinopolitan synod in the year 867, at which were present three hundred and seventy-three bishops, it was found to be a solemn custom in the courts of princes on certain days to dress some layman in the episcopal apparel, and to create a burlesque patriarch for the amusement of the company.† This, like so many other things of the same kind, was anathematized by the clergy at one time, though there can be little doubt that it had originated with themselves. And here arises a contradiction that at first sight seems not a little puzzling; at one moment we see the church adopting the pagan rites and ceremonies without hesitation, baptizing them as it were with holy names, while at another we find them launching their anathemas against such abuses. That sound policy dictated either measure there can be little reason to doubt, for when was the Romish Church wanting in craft or sagacity to defend its own interests, though at so remote a period it is hardly possible for us to investigate the motives of their conduct?

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citizens taken with the mock St. Nicolas, that is a Boy-Bishop, that there went about these St. Nicolases in divers parishes, as in St. Andrews, Holborn, and St. Nicolas Olaves in Bread Street. The reason the procession of St. Nicolas was forbid was because the Cardinal had this St. Nicolas' Day sent for all the convocation, bishops, and inferior clergy, to come to him to Lambeth, there to be absolved from all their perjuries, schisms, and heresies."—Idem. chap. xxvi. vol. iii. p. 205.

* *Boemus Aubanus.*—ORBIS TERRARUM EPITOME, Lib. iii. cap. xv. p. 241.

† See WARTON'S HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY, vol. iii. p. 325.

We have thus seen what were the actual ceremonies pertaining to the election and office of the Boy-Bishop; it now only remains to enquire why Saint Nicholas should have been more particularly chosen as the saint of this incongruous festival, or why indeed he should have been elevated into the patron-saint of scholars. Various reasons have been assigned for this. The learned Gregorie says, "it is sayd that his fader hyght Epiphanius, and his mother Joanna. And when hee was born they made him christen, and called him Nycolas, that is a mannes name, but he kepeth the name of the child, for he chose to kepe vertues, meknes, and simpleness, and without malice. Also we rede, while he lay in his cradel, he fasted wednesday and friday; these dayes he would souke but ones of the day, and ther wyth held him pleased. Thus he lyved all his lyfe in vertues with this childes name. And therefore children don him worship before all other saints."*

Another version is that given by Maitre Wace, chaplain to Henry the Second,

"Treis clers alvent a escole—
Nen frai mie longe parole;
Lor ostes par nuit les oscieit,
Les cors musca †.... la prenoit.
Saint Nicolas par Deu le sout,
Sempris fut la si cum Deu plut,
Les clers al oste demanda,
Nes peut muscier einz lui mustra.
Saint Nicolas par sa priere
Les ames mist el corș ariere,
Por ceo qe as clers fist tiel honor
Font li clerc feste a icel jor."

* Gregorii Posthuma, p. 114. But he quotes from the *Book of Festivals*, fol. 55.

† A word is defaced here from the MS. I quote from Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. i. p. 40.

That is, "three scholars were going to school—I shall not make my words long—their host in the night murdered them, and hid their bodies; their ..... he reserved. Saint Nicholas knew it of God, and went there as God directed. He demanded the scholars of the host, who not being able to conceal them showed them to him. By his prayers Saint Nicholas replaced the souls within the bodies. Because he conferred such honour on scholars, they at this day celebrate a festival."

CONCEPTION OF THE IMMACULATE, HOLY, AND BLESSED VIRGIN MOTHER OF GOD; or, as it is generally abbreviated, C. B. V. MARY; *December* 8th.—Some editions, however, of the Roman Calendar would seem to place this feast on the 9th.

ST. THOMAS'S DAY; *December* 21st.—Brand* has noticed some faint traces of a custom on this day, called, *Going a Gooding*. It was peculiar to the women, and is thus incidentally mentioned by a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, when speaking of the extreme mildness of the preceding winter; "the pleasing objects of Autumn continued to be seen after the commencement of winter. The women, who went *a-gooding*,—as they call it in these parts—on St. Thomas' Day, might in return for alms have presented their benefactors with sprigs of palm and bunches of primroses."† It should seem, however, not to have been restricted to Kent, for we find it mentioned as having existed at Pinner, about thirteen miles from London.‡

The same custom, or something very like it, appears to have obtained in Warwickshire, but under another name —"My servant B. Jelkes, who is from Warwickshire,

* POPULAR ANTIQUITIES, vol. i. p. 347.

† GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE for 1793—4, April, vol. lxiv. p. 292.

‡ BRAND'S POPULAR ANTIQUITIES, vol. i. p. 347.

informs me that there is a custom in that county for the poor on St. Thomas' Day to go with a bag to beg corn of the farmers, which they call *going a corning* J. B."*

CHRISTMAS EVE; *December* 24th.—In the primitive church Christmas Day was always observed as a Sabbath, and hence like other Lord's-Days it was preceded by an Eve or Vigil as an occasion of preparing for the day following.† No festival of the church was attended by more popular superstitions and observances, the ceremonies of the Saturnalia from which it was derived being improved upon by Christian and Druidical additions. The day of this Vigil was passed in the ordinary manner, but with the evening the sports began; about seven or eight o'clock hot cakes were drawn from the oven; ale, cyder, and spirits went freely round; and the carol-singing commenced, which was continued through the greater part of the night.

The connexion of this festival with the Roman Saturnalia has never been disputed by those competent to form a judgment, and in some existing observances in Franconia the traces of it are undeniable. In the nights of the three Thursdays preceding the nativity the young of either sex go about beating at the doors of the houses singing the near birth of our Saviour, and wishing the inhabitants a happy new year, for which in return they are presented with pears, apples, nuts, and money. With what joy in the churches not only the priests, but the people also, receive the birth-day of Christ may be inferred from this,—that the image of a new-born child being placed upon the altar, they dance and chaunt as they circle round it, while the elders sing much as the Corybantes

* BRAND'S POPULAR ANTIQUITIES, vol. i. p. 347.

† BOURNE'S ANTIQUITATES VULGARES, p. 126. chap. xiii.

are fabled to have exulted about the crying Jove in the cavern of Mount Ida.*

In addition to what has been here advanced, we have the unquestionable authority of Bede for asserting that it had been observed in this country long before by the heathen Saxons. They called it, he says, the *Mother-Night*, or *Night of Mothers*, and probably on account of the ceremonies used by them during their vigil.† But in fact though parti-

* "In trium quintarum feriarum noctibus, quæ proximæ Domini nostri natalem præcedunt, utriusque sexus pueri domesticatim eunt januas pulsitantes, cantantesque futurum salvatoris exortum; annunciant et salubrem annum; unde ab his, qui in ædibus sunt, pyra, poma, nuces, et nummos etiam percipiunt. Quo Christi Jesu natalem gaudio in templis non clerus solum sed omnis populus excipiat, ex hoc attendi potest; quòd puerili statuncula in altare collocatâ, quæ nuper æditum representet, juvenes cum puellis per circuitum tripudiantes choreas agant, seniores cantent more haud multum ab eo quidem diverso, quo Corybantes olim in Idæ montis antro circa Jovem vagientem exultasse fabulantur." BOEMUS AUBANUS.—*Orbis Terrarum Epitome*, lib. iii. cap. xv. p. 234.

† "Ipsam noctem nūc nobis sacrosanctum, tunc gentili vocabulo *Mædrenecch*, id ĕst matrum noctem, appellabāt; ob causam, ut suspicamur, ceremoniarum quas in ea pervigiles agebant." DE TEMPORUM RATIONE—*Bedæ Opera*—tom. ii. p. 68. Folio—Col. Agrip. 1612.

I have already upon more than one occasion noticed the close connexion between the Pagan and Christian ceremonies, and explained the causes of it. To those, who may yet have any doubts upon the subject, the authority of Sir Isaac Newton will perhaps bring conviction more readily than anything I could say. "Gregory Nyssen tells us, that after the persecution of the Emperor Decius, Gregory, Bishop of Neocæsarea in Pontus, instituted among all people, as an addition or corollary of devotion towards God, that festival days and assemblies should be celebrated to them who had contended for the faith, that is, to the Martyrs. And he adds this reason for the institution: When he observed, saith Nyssen, that the simple and unskilful multitude by reason of corporeal delights remained in the error of idols; that the principal thing might be corrected among them, namely that instead of their vain worship they might turn their eyes upon God; he permitted that at

cular portions of this festival may be traced to the Romans or to the ancient Saxons, the root of the whole affair lies

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the memories of holy martyrs they might make merry and delight themselves and be dissolved into joy. The heathens were delighted with the festivals of their Gods, and unwilling to part with those delights; and therefore Gregory, to facilitate their conversion, instituted annual festivals to the saints and martyrs. Hence it came to pass that for exploding the festivals of the heathens the principal festivals of the Christians succeeded in their room, as the keeping of Christmas with ivy and feasting, and playing and sports, in the room of the Bacchanalia and Saturnalia; the celebrating of May-Day with flowers, in the room of the Floralia; and the keeping of festivals to the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, and divers of the apostles, in the room of the solemnities at the entrance of the sun into the signs of the Zodiac in the old Julian calendar. In the same persecution of Decius, Cyprian ordered the passions of the martyrs in Africa to be registered in order to celebrate their memories annually with oblations and sacrifices; and Felix, bishop of Rome, a little after, as Platina relates, 'consulting the glory of the martyrs ordained that sacrifices should be celebrated annually in their name.' *By the pleasures of these festivals the Christians increased much in number*, and decreased as much in virtue, until they were purged and made white by the persecution of Dioclesian. This was the first step made in the Christian religion towards the veneration of the martyrs; and though it did not yet amount to an unlawful worship, yet it disposed the Christians towards such a farther veneration of the dead as in a short time ended in the invocation of saints. The next step was the affecting to pray at the sepulchres of martyrs, which practice began in Dioclesian's persecution." *Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel*, part i. chap. 14. p. 203. 4to. London, 1733. It would seem, however, as if this praying at the tombs of the martyrs had grown out of a very simple circumstance. Partly to avoid persecution in the time of Dioclesian, and partly because their churches had been destroyed, the Christians used to pray in cemeteries; this custom, originating in necessity or prudence, was continued in honour of the martyrs when the persecution had ceased, and hence came the practice of translating the bodies of the saints into the new churches, which was begun about the year 359 by the Emperor Constantius. The next step was the worship of bones and other reliques, and the attributing miraculous powers to them, in opposition

much deeper, and is to be sought in far remoter periods. It was clearly in its origin an astronomical observance to celebrate the Winter Solstice and the consequently approaching prolongation of the days, as is demonstrated by the emblematic Christmas candles and Yule-logs, the symbols of increasing light and heat.

These Christmas candles, though now out of date, were at one time of an immense size, and not a few in number, the houses being very generally illuminated with them. The church too adopted the same custom, but gave especial reasons of its own for such observance; the apostles, as they explained it, were the light of the world, and as our Saviour also was frequently called *the light*, so his coming was typified by these emblems.* In the buttery of St. John's College, Oxford, there is yet to be seen "an ancient candle-socket of stone, ornamented with the figure of the *Holy Lamb*. It was formerly used to burn the CHRISTMAS CANDLE in, on the high table, during the twelve nights of that festival."

For similar reasons they lighted the *Yule-clog*, or *Yule-log*, for the words are synonimous, as I have shown when speaking of the Norway *clogs* or wooden almanacs. This is the counterpart of the fires at Midsummer, the difference of the seasons having transferred the fire from the open air to the hearth within. On these occasions the log was usually as large as the hearth would admit of, or the means of the rejoicers could supply, and in some of the northern counties of England, so long as the log lasted, the servants were entitled to ale at their meals.†

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to the idols and oracles of the Emperor Julian, the Christians being determined not to be behind hand with their pagan adversaries even in the absurdest of their pretensions.

* See BLOUNT'S ANTIQ. VULG. p. 131.

† GROSE'S PROVINCIAL GLOSSARY,—*Yu-batch*.

At one time custom prescribed that it should be lighted from a brand of the last year's block, which had been carefully put by and preserved for that purpose, as we find it pleasantly recorded by Heyrick. ..

" Come bring with a noise,
My merrie, merrie boys,
The Christmas log to the firing;
While my good dame, she
Bids ye all be free
And drink to your heart's desiring.

With the last year's brand
Light the new block, and
For good success in his spending,
On your psaltries play
That sweet luck may
Come while the log is a teending." *

It is also requisite that the maidens, who blow a Christmas fire, should be like suitors in a law-court and come to the task with clean hands.

' Wash your hands or else the fire
Will not teind to your desire;
Unwash'd hands, ye maidens, know
Dead the fire though ye blow."†

A custom no less general is the dressing up of houses, particularly in the halls and kitchens, with branches of holly, ivy, bays, and rosemary, the two last mentioned being however in much less frequent use than the former. Nor must the mistletoe be forgotten in this record of Christmas festivities; for, whatever it may do in these refined days, it used to play a conspicuous part, less than

* HERRICK'S HESPERIDES. To *Teend* is to *kindle*, or to *burn*, from the Anglo-Saxon TENDAN, to set on fire. Todd derives it from the A. S. *tinan*, which means to *irritate*, and therefore can only be metaphorically connected with the idea of burning. They are however from the same root, if indeed they are not the same word.

† HERRICK'S HESPERIDES.

a century ago, when it was regularly suspended both in hall and kitchen, that the young folks of whatever rank might duly kiss and be kissed beneath its mystic branches.

In Yorkshire many of the old customs belonging to this day existed a few years ago, and I believe are still to be found in some of the remoter parts. One never-failing remnant of the olden times was the *cheese*, which had been especially made and preserved for the occasion. This was produced with much ceremony by every rustic dame, who, before she allowed it to be tasted, took a sharp knife and scored upon it rude resemblances to the cross. To this were added the mighty wassail-bowl reaming with *Lambs-wool*, and furmity made of barley-meal, which last was also an essential of the breakfast table.* At Rippon in the same county the singing boys used on this day to "come into the church with basketfuls of red apples, with a sprig of rosemary stuck in each, which they present to all the congregation, and generally have a return made them of 2*d.* 4*d.* 6*d.* according to the quality of the lady or gentleman."†

At Folkstone in Kent a yet more singular custom prevailed amongst the fishermen: "they chose eight of the largest and best whitings out of every boat when they came home from that fishery, and sold them apart from the rest, and out of the money arising from them they made a feast every Christmas Eve which they called a *Rumbald*. The master of each boat provided this feast for his own company, so that there were as many different entertainments as there were boats. These whitings, which are of a very large size, and are sold all round the country as far as Canterbury, are called *Rumbald-whitings*. This custom, (which is now left off though many of the inha-

* See the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1811, vol. lxxxi. p. 425, —and also for February 1784, vol. liv. Part 1. p. 99,

† See the same for August 1790, vol. lx. p. 719.

bitants still meet socially on a Christmas-eve, and call it Rumbals-night,) might have been antiently designed in honour of St. Rumbald, and the fish designed as an offering to him for his protection during the fishery."*

In the Isle of Man is another ceremony, mentioned by Waldron, which like this of Kent is, I believe, no longer in existence—"On the 24th of December towards evening all the servants in general have a holiday; they go not to bed all night, but ramble about 'till the bells ring in all the churches, which is at twelve o'clock; prayers being over, they go to hunt the wren, and after having found one of these poor birds they kill her, and lay her on a bier with the utmost solemnity, bringing her to the parish church, and burying her with a whimsical kind of solemnity, singing dirges over her in the monks' language, which they call her knell; after which Christmas begins."†

* WALDRON WORKS—*Ile of Man*—p. 355. Folio; 1711.

† HASTED'S HISTORY OF KENT, vol. iii, p. 380. Although I have given Hasted's explanation of the word *rumbald*, I have not the slightest faith in it. There is no such saint as RUMBALD in the Romish Calendar, and allowing that this name were a corruption of RUMOLD "dit vulgairements saint ROMBAUT," (L'Art de Verifier les Dates) or RUMWALD, the Confessor, what have either of them to do with fishermen, or a Christmas-Eve festival? the day of St. Rumold was the 1st of July; that of Rumwald was November the 3rd. There is, however, no difficulty in discovering either the meaning or the etymology of the word. It signifies nothing more than a *jollification*, a *boisterous merry-making*; and wherever we find any of the cognate terms, they are invariably coupled either with the idea of *noise*, simply of itself, or of *noise* conjoined with *mirth*; thus the Devonshire term *rumbullion* signifies a *great tumult*; RUMBUSTICAL in several provinces is used for *boisterous*; and RUMBELOW,—it should be RUMBEL OH! or, RUMBAL OH!—is the burthen to the furry song of the Cornish fishermen, plainly meaning, *jollily oh! merrily oh!* The corruption has most probably arisen in the error of those, who wrote the words down from hearing them sung, and caught the sound imperfectly. I need only add that all these derivatives, and their kindred which it is unnecessary to our present purpose to enumerate, have come from the LOW SAXON, RUMMELN, to *rumble*.

The above-mentioned custom is more than matched by a superstitious belief, that used to prevail in parts of Devonshire, of the oxen always being found on their knees in an attitude of devotion at night on Christmas Eve; but the obstinate animals refused to accommodate themselves to the alteration of style, and persisted in performing their genuflexions on Old Christmas Eve so long as they performed them at all.* This however like so many other creeds and observances has become obsolete. Even the habit of exchanging gifts at this season, and particularly where the parties were divided by any distance, has well nigh fallen into desuetude; and if we now want to see any of the romance that used to belong to Christmas we must seek for it abroad. In Germany Christmas Eve is still celebrated in a way that can not fail to delight those who have a feeling for pure and simple enjoyment, and a scene of this kind has been so admirably painted by Coleridge that I need go no farther in proof of my assertion,†—'There is a Christmas custom here, which pleased and interested me. The children make little presents to their parents and to each other; and the parents to their children. For three or four months before Christmas the girls are all busy, and the boys save up their pocket-money, to make or purchase these presents. What the present is to be is cautiously kept secret, and the girls have a world of contrivances to conceal it—such as working when they are out on visits and the others are not with them; getting up in the morning before daylight; and the like. Then on the evening before Christmas-day, one of the parlours is lighted up by the children, into which the parents must not go. A great yew-bough is fastened on the table at a little distance from the wall, a multitude of little tapers are (is) fastened in the bough,

* This is recorded by Brand in his POPULAR SUPERSTITIONS. vol. i. p. 250.

† That is in the north of Germany; Coleridge is writing from Ratzeburg.

but so as not to catch it 'till they are nearly burnt out, and coloured paper hangs and flutters from the twigs. Under this bough the children lay out in great order the presents they mean for their parents, still concealing in their pockets what they intend for each other. Then the parents are introduced, and each presents his little gift, and then bring out the rest one by one from their pockets, and present them with kisses and embraces. Where I witnessed this scene, there were eight or nine children, and the eldest daughter and the mother wept aloud for joy and tenderness; and the tears ran down the face of the father, and he clasped all his children so tight to his breast it seemed as if he did it to stifle the sob that was rising within him. I was very much affected. The shadow of the bough and appendages on the wall, and arching over the cieling, made a pretty picture; and then the raptures of the very little ones, when at last the twigs and their needles began to take fire and snap! O, it was a delight for them!—On the next day in the great parlour the parents lay out on the table the presents for the children; a scene of more sober joy succeeds, as on this day, after an old custom, the mother says privately to each of her daughters, and the father to his sons that which he has observed most praisworthy and that which was most faulty in their conduct. Formerly, and still in all the smaller towns and villages throughout North Germany, these presents were sent by all the parents to some one fellow, who in high buskins, a white robe, a mask, and an enormous flax wig, personates Knecht Rupert, the servant Rupert. On Christmas night he goes round to every house, and says, that Jesus Christ, his master, sent him thither;—the parents and elder children receive him with great pomp of reverence, while the little ones are most terribly frightened. He then inquires for the children, and according to the character, which he hears from the parent, he gives them the intended presents,

as if they came out of Heaven from Jesus Christ. Or, if they should have been bad children, he gives the parents a rod, and in the name of his master recommends them to use it frequently. About seven or eight years old, the children are let into the secret, and it is curious to observe how faithfully they keep it."*

CHRISTMAS DAY.—*December* 25. There is much doubt as to the origin of this festival. The earliest churchman who makes any mention of it is Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, about the year 170, in his paschal letter, and for the first four centuries it was far from being universally celebrated. It is even a matter of great uncertainty when it should be kept, and Cassian tells us that the Egyptians observed the Epiphany, the Nativity, and Baptism of Christ on the same day,† while modern chronologists, at the head of whom is Scaliger, agree that Christ was born at the end of September or the beginning of October, about the time of the Jewish Feast of the Tabernacles.

In the earlier ages this day was called in the Eastern Church the *Epiphany*, or *Manifestation of the Light*, a name which was subsequently given to *Twelfth Night*, as I have already mentioned. On this occasion it was used allusively to the birth of Christ, and hence also came the custom, which prevailed in the ancient church, of lighting up candles at the reading of the gospels even at mid-day, partly to testify the general joy, and partly to symbolize the new light that was shining on mankind.

* COLERIDGE'S FRIEND, vol. ii, p. 249, 12mo. London, 1837.

† "Intra Ægypti regionem mos iste antiqua traditione servatur, ut peracto Epiphaniorum die, quem provinciæ illius sacerdotes vel Dominici baptismi, vel, secundum carnem, nativitatis esse definiunt, et idcirco utriusque sacramenti solemnitatem non bifarie, ut in occiduis provinciis, sed sub una diei hujus festivitate concelebrant, epistolæ pontificis Alexandrini per universas dirigantur Ægypt ecclesias." JOANNIS CASSIANI (EREMITÆ) COLLATIONES SANCT. PATRUM. Coll. x. cap. ii. p. 383. 8vo. Lugd. 1606.

The fact is incidentally mentioned by Jerome* while defending the worship of relicks and dead men's bones against the attacks of Vigilantius, who, it seems had loudly protested against any such practice on the heretical plea that the intercession of the saints was useless. But Vigilantius was altogether a doubtful character; he maintained that it was idle to burn wax-tapers by daylight, that alms ought not to be sent to Jerusalem, that clerical celibacy was abominable, and the retirement of monks into deserts and solitudes was no better. No wonder that the wrath of the mild and gentle Jerome should blaze forth as it did against such doctrines as these; a saint may be provoked, if we can believe the proverb.

This day was also called *Theophany*,† which means much the same thing as Epiphany, but which can hardly be traced beyond the time of St. Basil.

Christmas would also appear to have been called *Noel* or *Nowel*, though this latter word was used with three or four very different meanings.

First, it signified the season of Christmas, that is to say the time of the festival commemorative of Christ's nativity; thus in the old French proverb, *on a tant crie Noël qu'enfin il est venu*—literally, *we have cried out Christmas so long that it has come at last*, but meaning to imply we have talked of a thing so long that at last it has happened.

Secondly, it signifies a *carol*, when that word is restricted

* "Absque martyrum reliquiis per totas orientis ecclesias, quando legendum est evangelium, accenduntur luminaria, jam sole rutilante, non utique ad fugandas tenebras, sed ad signum lætitiæ demonstrandum..... ut sub typo luminis corporalis illa lux ostendatur, de qua in psalterio legimus,—*lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum, Domine et lumen semitis meis.*" HIERONYMI *Opera: Epistolæ*,—p. 84, tom. ii. Epistola 53. *Adversus Vigilantium.*—10 vols. folio. 1575.

† See L'ESTRANGE'S ALLIANCE OF DIVINE OFFICES, p. 135, folio, London, 1659. He however quotes from a homily of St. Basil's, a saint, who flourished at the commencement of the fourth century. Gregory Nazianzen tells us that this festival is called *God's appearance*.

in its use to a song, or hymn upon the nativity, but, as we shall presently see, the carol was sung at other seasons also; thus for example, *Les Noëls du Sieur François Colletet sont de plaisans Noëls.**

Thirdly, it signifies *news* or *tidings*; as for instance,

"I come from Heaven to tell
The best nowellis that ever befell;
To you this tythings trewe I bring." †

Fourthly, it was used merely as an exclamation of joy, if indeed it would not still seem to be employed as before, News! news! thus,—

"Nowell! nowell! nowell! nowell!
Who ys ther that syngyt so, nowell! nowell?"‡

But though this would appear to be one and the same word only used in different senses, I can not help suspecting that we have two words sprung from very different roots and corrupted by time into the same mode of writing and pronouncing. Noël, when signifying, "tidings," is likely enough to have come from the French *nouvelles*, though I would not venture to affirm it; but in the other cases, I have no doubt whatever as to its origin; and in defiance of so many opposite derivations assert that Noël is neither more nor less than a corruption of Yole, Yule, Gule, or Ule, for it was written in all these ways; § the addition of N to words beginning with a vowel is so common in our old writers that

* See DICTIONNAIRE DE LA LANGUE FRANCOISE DE PIERRE RICHELET—sub voce, *Noel*; 3 vols. folio, Lyons, 1769.

† ANE SANG OF THE BIRTH OF CHRIST, as quoted by Brand. vol. i. p. 264.

‡ RITSON'S ANCIENT SONGS AND BALLADS, vol. ii. p. 17, No. viii.

§ Even the authority of the learned Vallancey can not shake my belief in *noel* being nothing more than the Hindoo *Huli*, the *yole*, *yule*, or *gule*, of the Egyptians. It is right however that he should be allowed to speak for himself.—"This festival (Allhallow) lasted 'till the beginning of December, which was named *Mi-Nolagh*, or the month of the *New-Born*, from the Hebrew, *Noluh*, i.e. *parire*, to bring forth young; from whence the French word, *noel*; and the Irish *Nolagh*, CHRISTMAS DAY." *Vallancey*, COLLECT. DE REBUS HIBERNICIS, vol. iii. p. 445. Essay on "Allhallow Eve."

few can be ignorant of it,* and the phrase is just as applicable to Christmas as it was to Midsummer, seeing that at either time it bore a reference to the solstice. From having been used to designate Christmas, we may easily imagine how it came to be applied to the songs of the season, and even from frequent repetition to become a mere cry of joy. I am the more confirmed in my notion by the fact that *yol*, or *yule*, so repeatedly occurs as a simple exclamation, either to express boisterous mirth or as an accompaniment to some superstitious ceremony. As to Todd's derivation of the word from the Hebrew GNOUL, *a child*, it is too absurd for argument.

Among the Anglo-Saxons this day was the beginning of the year ;† and in the shows of a later, but still remote,

* Thus in *Fenn's* PASTON LETTERS (vol. i. p. 58), "It coste me of my *noune* p'per goods;" i. e. "It cost me of my own proper goods." Again ; (p. 14.) "Smote hym on the hede w^t a *nedge* tole;" i. e. "Smote him on the head with an edge tool." "Because of a *nold* debate;" i. e. "Because of an old debate." So also in the word, NONCE—*for the nonce*—i.e. for the once. And again in Chaucer;

"A coronne on hire hed they have ydressed,
And sette hire ful of *nouches* gret and small"—

i.e. *ouches* or precious stones. In the same way the letter Y was constantly used as an expletive; as, YERLY for *erly*, i. e. early; YERLE for *erle*, i. e. earl; YEVER for *ever;* and so YULE for *ule*. And again in another old writer;

"Naught can at once be begonne, or present made to be perfect;
By travel all harde thinges are brought to singular effect;
Yer that Apelles could Cytherea's beauty depolish
Had he not time to delyne, her picture finely to finnyshe?"

THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE PRESERVATION OF KING HENRY VII. *Epistle Dedicatorie*, 12mo. London, 1590. *Yer* is for *ere*, i.e. before. The book from which this is taken, is exceedingly curious, and I believe unique. In process of time the Y was changed into A when used before verbs, as we still find it retained in some few; as *a*bide, *a*rise, &c. while in others it is lost altogether, or only retained by the vulgar, as, in *a*bear, "I can't abear it."

† "Incipiebant autem annum ab octavo Calendarum Januariarum die, ubi nunc natale Domini celebramus. BEDÆ OPERA. *De Temporum Ratione*. Tom. ii. p. 63.

time Christmas was personified in his pageant by "an old man hung round with savoury dainties."*

No sooner had midnight passed, and the Day of the Nativity commenced, than the people hastened to welcome it with carols, and these, as Bourne tells us, were "generally sung with some others from the nativity to the Twelveth Day, the continuance of Christmas."† In the present day the place of the carols is supplied amongst the higher and middling classes by tunes played just before midnight by the so-called Waits, whilst the carols themselves are annually published in the humblest form and with the coarsest wood cuts for the amusement of the people.

On the Christmas Day these carols used at one time to take the place of psalms in the churches, and more particularly at the afternoon service, the whole congregation joining in them. At the end of the carol the clerk would declare in a loud voice his wishes for a merry Christmas and a happy new year to all the parishioners.‡

Carol-singing was, and still is, a custom on the continent, as we find mentioned in Lady Morgan's ITALY; and, though now it is confined with us to the humbler classes, yet in former times it amused the very highest. "At the table," says Leland, "in the medell of the hall sat the Deane and thoos of the king's chapell, whiche incontynently after the king's furst course singe a *carall*."§

In conclusion, so far as regards this part of my subject, I am tempted to say a few words upon the etymology of CAROL. Johnson would seem to be unquestionably

* See ANDREW'S HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN, *connected with Chronology, &c.* Vol. i., part ii. p. 329, 4to. London. 1795.

† BOURNE'S ANTIQUITATES VULGARES, p. 139.

‡ See DAVIES GILBERT'S CHRISTMAS CAROLS. Preface. p. 1. 8vo. Lond. 1823. Hone (Ancient Mysteries, 106,) has blundered his name into Gilbert Davies.

§ "Ballo tondo, che comunemente si soleva accompagnar col canto e si faceva pigliandosi più persone per le mani e fermando così di tutti un circolo." DIZIONARIO DELLA LINGUA ITALIANA.

right in deducing it from the Italian, *carola*, though *carola* does not mean a *song*, but "a round dance accompanied by song,"* being itself derived from the Greek χορὸς, or the Latin *chorus*, both of which equally signified mixture of song and dance. It is true that *carol* is restricted in its meaning to song only, but precisely the same limitation of sense has happened with the word chorus, which has been borrowed from the same original, and which yet with us excludes all idea of dancing. The only thing that appears to militate against the supposition is that we have in the middle-age Latinity the word *carola* with four very different meanings. In the barbarous language of the cloisters, it signified :—1st, a balustrade or railing—2ndly, a procession around chapels enclosed within railings—3rdly, a chest to hold writing materials, with a lock and key, such as was forbidden to be kept in the monks' dormitories without especial permission of the Abbot—and lastly, it was used for some smaller specimens of gold or silver work, but of what particular kind it is impossible to say.† Now the connexion between this word and our *carol* is by no means evident, and yet, the two being so exactly similar in sound and spelling, one can not altogether get rid of the idea of their somehow being the same, though to all appearance so completely sundered by difference of meaning.

The earliest known collection of carols supposed to have been published is only known from the last leaf of a volume, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1521. It is now in the Bodleian Library, and has two carols upon it; the one "a caroll of huntynge" reprinted in the last edition of Juliana Berner's "Boke of St. Albans;" the other, a "Caroll on bringing up a bore's head to the table on

* In the Romance Language, it has exactly the same meaning—"CAROLE; *carolle;* Danse, assemblee, divertissement." GLOSSAIRE DE LA LANGUE ROMANE, par. J. B. B. Roquefort.

† See DUCANGE, sub voce.

Christmas Day," which is given by Ritson in the second volume of his ANCIENT SONGS, p. 14. The carol, however, as it is now heard at Queen's College, Oxford, differs much from the old version, and is sung every Christmas Day in the Hall to the common chaunt of the prose version of the psalms in Cathedrals.*

* *The Carol, (as given by Ritson.)*

Caput apri defero,
Reddens laudes Domino.

The bores-heed in hand bring I,
With garlands gay and rosemary;
I pray you all synge merely,
Qui estis in convivio.

The bores-heed, I understande,
Is the chefe servyce in this lande;
Loke wherever it be fonde,
Servite cum cantico.

Be gladde, lordes, both more and lasse,
For this hath ordeyned our stewarde
To chere you all this Christmasse,
The bores-heed with mustarde.

The Carol as sung at Queen's College, Oxford, and given in Dibdin's Ames. Vol. ii. p. 252.

The boar's-head in hand bear I,
Bedeck'd with bays and rosemary;
And I pray you, my masters, be merry,
Quot estis in convivio.
Caput Apri defero
Reddens laudes Domino.

The boar's-head, as I understand,
Is the rarest dish in all this land,
Which thus bedeck'd with a gay garland
Let us servire cantico.
Caput Apri defero
Reddens laudes Domino.

Our steward hath provided this
In honour of the King of Bliss,
Which on this day to be serv'd is
In reginensi atrio.
Caput Apri defero
Reddens laudes Domino.

St. Stephen's Day—*December 26th.* He was called the protomartyr, or first martyr to the gospel, having been stoned to death by the Jews for accusing them of the murder of Christ, whom he maintained to be the true Messiah.*

Many singular customs and superstitions used to belong to this day, but which for the most part have now become well nigh obsolete. At one time it was usual to gallop horses up and down till they were bathed in sweat, and then bleed them, under the notion of keeping them in health throughout the new year—"as if," says Thomas Naogeorgus, "St. Stephen ever took care of horses."† I don't see why he should not; St. Eulogius protected grooms, and it may be doubted whether the animals were not the more worthy of the two to come under saintly patronage.

We have excellent authority for the prevalence of this custom, and not confined to one age or one country; thus old Tusser under the month of December poetizes;

> "Yer Christmas be passed let horses be let blood,
> For many a purpose it doth them much good."

And again we find in the disbursements made by the canons of St Mary in Huntingdon:

"For lettyng our horses blede in Christmasse weke.....£0 0*s.* 4*d.*"

So too amongst the Danes; for Olaus Wormius, when noting the symbolical painting applied to the different

* Hospinian De Festis Christianorum, p. 160.

† "Mox sequitur Stephani festum, quo quisque caballos
In campo exercet cursu saltuque volucri,
Dum fluat e toto fessorum corpore sudor,
Adque fabros ductis mandant pertundere venam.
Scilicet hoc prodesse ferunt hac luce peractum
Nec morbis ullis illo tententur in anno;
Cornipedum Stephanus ceu curam gesserit unquam."

Regni Papistici, lib. iv.—p. 132.

saints-days, tells us that Stephen was designated by a fleam or lancet "because on that day it is the custom to bleed horses to preserve them from diseases for the whole year."*

In TUSSER REDIVIVUS the same practice is mentioned in a note, but in a way that tends somewhat to minish the saint's honour by setting aside his patronage and giving another reason for it—"About Christmas is a very proper time to bleed horses in, for then they are commonly at house, then spring comes on, the sun being now coming back from the winter solstice, and there are three or four days of rest; and if it be upon St. Stephen's Day it is not the worse, seeing there are with it three days of rest or at least two."†

Our old gossiping friend, Aubrey, so often quoted in these pages, bears testimony to the same thing—"on St. Stephen's Day the farrier came constantly and blooded all our cart-horses."‡ And the fact is yet farther confirmed, if it needes confirmation, by the authority of Joachim Hildebrand, who informs us that according to the popular belief horses bled on this day will not die for the year following.§ Other instances might be given — "witnesses more than my pack would hold"—but enough has been said to convince all of the potency of this charm, who are at all open to conviction.

Another custom of St. Stephen's Day in the northern

* "Stephano protomartyri dicatus (i.e. dies) phlebotomo innuitur, quod equis hoc die venas incidere soleant, ut a morbis totum annum liberi evadant." *Olaus Magnus*—FASTI DANICI. lib. ii. Cap. ix. p. 110.

† P. 148.

‡ AUBREY'S REMAINS OF GENTILISME AND JUDAISME, MS. Lansd: Coll:—Brit. Mus.—326.

§ "Altera superstitio est quòd in festo S. Stephani equos exerceant, donec toto corpore sudent; postea ad fabros ducant, qui equis venam pertundant, rati tales equos anno proximo mori non posse." JOACHIMI HILDEBRANDI DE DIEBUS FESTIS LIBELLUS. § 8, p. 333.

parts of England was the SWORD DANCE, which was executed by six youths, called *sword-dancers;* they were dressed in white profusely garnished with ribbands, and were attended by a fiddler, a personated doctor, and a lad in curious attire who generally bore the name of Bessy, in which guise they travelled from village to village performing the dance above mentioned. Indeed it almost seems to have been a rude ballet of action interspersed with singing, for one of the youths plays the part of king; and the Bessy interfering, while they are describing a hexagon with their swords, is killed. These frolicks they continued till New Year's Day, when the festival was wound up by spending their gains upon a grand carouse at the ale-house.*

The goose too again makes its appearance, as a special appendage to this day, but not with the honours that belonged to it at Michaelmas and Martinmas. The bird is baked in a pye, several of which pies are made by the rich, and sent round to their poorer neighbours, one only being retained for themselves, which is carefully kept, untasted, till Candlemas Day,† or the Purification of the Virgin. Nor are those the only indications of St. Stephen's Day being one of much sensual enjoyment. In Ray's proverbs we have an old saw that fully confirms the fact;

> "Blessed be St. Stephen,
> There's no fast upon his even:"

while, probably from being a part of Christmas, it was honoured with its appropriate carols.‡

* See the GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE for May, 1811—p. 423—vol. lxxxi.—part I.

† Ibid.

‡ Ritson has preserved a carol that puts the simple credulity of the old times in a very admirable light. In plain prose it would run thus. Saint Stephen was a clerk, who served at the dinner table of King Herod, and upon one occasion, while bringing in a boar's head from the kitchen, he on the sudden saw a bright star standing over Bethlehem. Upon this he flung down the boar's head, and told Herod to his

But the feast of Saint Stephen is more generally known amongst us as *Boxing*-Day, a term which has most probably been derived from the custom of depositing the Christmas gifts in a money-box, from which they could not be extracted but by breaking open the box itself. Of this usage many scattered hints may be found in our old writers. Thus for instance Mason says, "like a swine he never doth good till his death; as an apprentice's box of earth, apt he is to take all, but to restore none till hee be broken."* And again; Humphrey Browne, when speaking of a miser, says "he doth exceed in receiving, but is very deficient in giving; like the Christmas earthen boxes of apprentices, apt to take in money, but hee restores none till hee be broken like a potter's vessel into many shares."† And no less to the purpose is what we read in the *English Usurer*—

"Both with the Christmas boxe may well comply;
It nothing yields 'till broke; they 'till they die."‡

Lastly, if any more proofs be wanted, we have the fol-

face that he would serve him no longer. The king was naturally enough surprised at this sudden outbreak and demanded to know the cause of it, professing his readiness to give him more 'mete and drynk' if he found any lack of either. To this Stephen responded that there was a youth just born in "Bedlem" who was better than all of them, whereat the king waxed indignant, and observed that it was about as true as that the capon would crow, which was lying on the table ready cooked for eating. No sooner was the word spoken, than the cock crew aloud, "Christus natus est"—*Christ is born.*—But so far was Herod from being moved by this miracle, as he ought in all reason to have been, that he forthwith ordered Stephen to be led out of the town and stoned to death. And stoned he was accordingly.

* Mason's Handful of Essaies. 12mo. London. 1642. Signat. c. 6. b.—as quoted by Brand; vol. i.—p. 271.

† A Map of Microcosme, or a Morall Description of Man, newly compiled into Essays by H. Browne. 12mo. London, Signat. c. 6. b. Quoted by Brand; vol. i.—p. 271.

‡ 4to. Lond: 1634,—as quoted by Brand; vol. i.—p. 271.

lowing in Aubrey, when describing some Roman coin, found buried in a pot in North Wiltshire;—" it resembles in appearance an apprentice's earthen Christmas box."*

The origin of the custom is at first sight far from being so apparent, and it is not impossible that Christmas Boxes and New Year's Gifts may have come to us from two very different sources. The Christmas Box bestowed on labourers, mechanics, &c. may be no more than a substitute for the attendance given by the Romans to their own servants during the Saturnalia, for this festival happened much about the time of Christmas, and the commutation of service into something between a fine and a gift seems to be in the natural course of things. This however, was but one feature of the Saturnalia, and if from this the Christmas-box arose, there can, I think, be little doubt that the New Year's Gifts originated in the custom peculiar to this season among the Romans of sending mutual presents to each other.† The ceremony according to the usual routine in these matters was continued among the Christians but with a changed object, for that, which had been done in honour of the God

* MISCELLANIES ON SEVERAL CURIOUS SUBJECTS.—*Natural History of the North Division of the County of North Wiltshire.* p. 26, 8vo. London. 1714.

† The Romans would appear to have been particularly fond of these *New Year's Gifts*—STRENÆ, as they called them—though it is to be feared they were too often employed for the worst of purposes. Tiberius, a man not likely to take alarm at vice in any shape, yet thought it requisite to forbid the exchange of them, except on the Calends of January (i. e. the 1st of January.)—"Strenarum commercium ne ultra Kalendas Januarias exerceretur." (SUETONII TIBERIUS, cap. 34). The senators presented their New-year's gifts in the Capitol to the emperor, even though he were absent.—" Omnes ordines in lacum Curtii quotannis ex voto pro salute ejus stipem jaciebant; item Kalendis Januariis strenam in Capitolio etiam absenti." (Suetonii Oct. Augustus, cap. 57.) And examples of this kind might be multiplied, but it would be useless when the truth is so obvious.

Saturn, was now done in honour of the Virgin Mary,* till the Church, growing more jealous and less discreet as it encreased in power, began to thunder forth its anathemas against what it truly enough considered to be a relick of paganism.†

* Hutchinson in his History of Northumberland, (vol. ii.—Appendix: p. 30,) would fain derive the custom of boxing from the Paganalia; but what have they to do with it? the Paganalia were strictly rural festivals in which the people of the towns had no share.—"Feriæ, non populi, sed montanorum modo, ut paganalia quæ sunt alicujus pagi," says Varro, (DE LATINA LINGUA, p. 72, 12mo. Basil, 1536.) In the ATHENIAN ORACLE is a yet more silly attempt to account for its origin; in answer to a supposed query of "whence comes the invented custom of gathering Christmas Box money? and how long since?" we are told, "it is as ancient as the word, *mass*, which the Romish priests invented from the Latin word, *mitto*, to *send*, by putting the people in mind to send gifts, offerings, oblations to have masses said for every thing almost; that a ship goes not out to the Indies, but the priests have a box in that ship under the protection of some saint. And for masses, as they cant, to be said for them to that saint, &c. The poor people must put in something into the priest's box, which is not to be opened till the ship's return. Thus the mass at the time was called Christ's mass; and the box, Christ-mass box, or money gathered against that time, that masses might be made by the priests to the saints to forgive the people the debaucheries of that time, and from this servants had the license to get box-money, because they might be enabled to pay the priest for his masses, because *no penny no pater-noster;* for though the rich pay ten times more than they can expect, yet a priest will not say a mass or any thing to the poor for nothing, so charitable they generally are." ATHENIAN ORACLE: vol. i. p. 360. 8vo. London. 1738.

† In the Canons of the Sixth Trullan Council, this custom is mentioned for the express purpose of being prohibited. The holy synod had discovered a wicked habit among the faithful of baking wheaten cakes and presenting them to each other on pretence of paying respect to the Virgin upon the Nativity; but, as the fathers well observed, τῇ γᾶν μὴ γνέσῃ λοχείαν, πῶς ἡμεῖς τά τῶν λοχευομένων δίαπραξόμεθα "how are we to pay the rites of child-birth to her who never knew of such a thing;"—ergo, quoth they, it is no honour to the Virgin; ergo we forbid it; and let any one transgress this order if he dares.

It must however be fairly confessed that there is one incontestable fact, which seems to point at a Druidical origin for this custom. In Normandy and some other parts of France, New Year's Gifts are still called, "*Guy-l'an-neuf*," a word of which I shall presently speak more at large,* and we know that at this season of the year the Druids were in the habit of distributing the sacred misletoe and sending it around amongst the people.

ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.—*December 27th.* The only thing that makes this day at all worthy of particular notice is the *St. John's Draught* or *St John's Blessing*, it having been the custom of the Apostles to send each other a present of this kind. Some improve upon the story and tell us that a cup of poisoned wine being presented to St. John, he signed the cup with the cross, and then drank of it uninjured, whence he is painted with a cup, from which a serpent is starting. Others again have imagined that this custom was derived to the Christians from the Heathens, who at this season were wont to send round a votive cup to each other in honour of the two-faced Janus, whom they believed to be the first cultivator of the vine.†

If he be of the church, depose the rascal; if he be a layman, segregate him.—See BEVERIDGE'S SYNODIKON, tom. i. p. 249. To be sure such a declaration does not exactly agree with there being a feast of the *purification*; the latter could hardly be needed without the former. But such things are mere trifles with the holy Fathers, who in these records of their doings have left us ample food for sorrow or laughter, according as the mind is framed to pity or to ridicule the follies of mankind.

* Under *Hagmana*; December 31st.

† "Altera superstitio est quòd in festo S. Joannis Apostoli sibi invicem benedictionem S. Joannis, vel haustum Joannis—nostri vocant den Joannis Seegen oder Trunk—mittere soleant. Putant nonnulli morem a veteribus ethnicis descendere, qui sub initio Januarii vinum honorarium amicis suis mittere solebant in honorem bicipitis Jani, quem primum vitium satorem putant. Christiani postea ex Jano Joannem formarunt. Legitur alias in vita Johannis quod poculum

HOLY INNOCENTS; CHILDERMAS-DAY.—*December 28th.* CHILDERMAS-DAY is from the Anglo-Saxon *Cilda mæsse-dæg*, CILD in that antient dialect meaning "a child." It is a feast in commemoration of the supposed slaughter of the Jewish children in the hope of including the new-born Saviour in the number. This child-massacre, however, is absurd in itself, and is rendered historically doubtful from no mention having been made of it by Josephus, the avowed enemy of Herod. Even the authority of Macrobius, with the witty saying that he attributes to Augustus,* is insufficient to establish the point, and my suspicions are redoubled when I find another of those startling coincidences between Pagan fables and Christian observances. In like manner Saturn was to devour all his children, and he too had his festival on this day, a coincidence which acquires irresistible strength from its being only one of so many similar instances.† Then again in the flight of Mary, and the reasons given in the Roman Missal for her having been married, we see the same similarity bursting out in another quarter. Mary according to this authority bore a wife's name that the Devil might not

vini veneno mixtum propinatum ei fuerit, sed Johannes, cum poculum cruce signasset, sine damno ebibit. Hinc adhuc S. Johannes cum calice pingitur, ex quo serpens promicat." J. HILDEBRANDI DE DIEBUS FESTIS LIBELLUS, p. 33.

* "Cum audisset [Augustus] inter pueros quos in Syria Herodes, Rex Judæorum, intra bimatum jussit interfici, filium quoque ejus occisum, ait—'melius est Herodis porcum esse quam filium.'"—"When Augustus heard that the son of Herod was amongst the children within two years old whom that monarch had ordered to be slain, he observed,—'it is better to be the hog, than the son of Herod.'" *Macrobii Saturnal.* Lib. ii. p. 341, tom. i. Professed jokers and gossips are not the most trust-worthy historians, and it should be recollected that Macrobius was entitled to both these characters. A collector of smart sayings is much more likely to regard the point than the truth of what he is recording.

† So too the *Februata Juno* and the *Purificata Virgo Maria;* and a multitude of others already noticed.

suspect the approaching birth of a child from a virgin, the fiend playing precisely the same part that Saturn did in the old mythology; the discrepancies between the two tales are not more than would be required to prevent their being identical.* If indeed the fact of the child-massacre had been recorded in all four gospels this reasoning would of course fall to the ground, as being contradicted by scripture authority. But such is not the case; it is mentioned only in St. Matthew, and there in a single verse, so that under all the circumstances we shall not perhaps exceed the bounds of a modest doubt, if we suppose the passage to be an interpolation. We know full well that such things have happened with other parts of the Testament, as in the memorable instance in St. John, where Porson in his celebrated letters to Travis proved the verse of the three bearing witness to be spurious. Never indeed was rout more complete than that of the poor archdeacon, and one only wonders how he ever dared to enter the lists with so redoubtable an opponent, unquestionably the first of European scholars since the days of Bentley. Of Cansa, the Hindoo Herod, I have already made mention in the month of January.

By an odd perversion of ideas it was usual at one period to celebrate this day by whipping up the children in the morning.† Indeed, if we may believe Naogeorgus, the

* "Quare non de simplici virgine, sed de desponsata concipitur? Primùm ut per generationem Joseph origo Mariæ monstraretur; secundò ne lapidaretur à Judæis ut adultera; tertiò, ut in Ægyptum fugiens haberet solatium. Martyr Ignatius quartam addidit causam, cur a desponsata conceptus sit, ut partus, inquiens, ejus celaretur Diabolo, dum eum putat non de virgine sed de uxore generatum." Breviarium Romanum, p. 346. *La Veille de la Nativite de Nostre Seigneur.* Folio. Paris. 1588.

† "Hujus lanienæ truculentissimæ ut pueri Christianorum recordentur, et simul discant odium, persecutionem, crucem, exilium, egestatemque statim cum nato Christo incipere, virgis cædi solent in aurora hujus diei adhuc in lectulis jacentes a parentibus suis." Hospinian, De Orig. Fest. Christ. p. 161.

flagellating was of a yet more general and extended nature; for not only did the parents scourge their children, but the boys whipt the girls, the men servants whipt the maid-servants, and the monks either flogged each other, or the father-abbot kindly took the office upon himself and flogged the whole monastery round in all brotherly love and affection.* Clement Marot has a humorous, but not very delicate epigram upon this subject, in which he uses the word *innocenter* to express the flagellating custom peculiar to this season, as his commentator, Dufresne, is at the pains of explaining in a note.†

This feast, without any apparent reason, was reckoned peculiarly ill-omened; to begin any work upon it was very unlucky; and, whatever day of the week it might chance to fall upon, that day throughout the whole year was equally unfavourable;‡ in such a case idleness was no doubt only too well pleased to find an ally in superstition. Neither would any marry at this season,§ put on a new suit, or even pare the nails, one and all of these things being in the calendar of things unlucky;‖ and as a

* "Mane statim primo gnatos gnatasque parentes
Nil meritos cædunt virgis; juvenesque, puellas;
Et famuli, famulas; monachi, quoque, mutuo sese;
Aut omnes cædit prior, aut fanaticus abbas."
NAOGEORGUS—REGNUM PAPISTICUM, lib. iv. p. 133.

† I can not venture to give the epigram itself, but the note runs thus:—"INNOCENTER—Allusion a un usage pratiqué lors en France, où les jeunes personnes, qu'on pouvoit surprendre au lit le *Jour des Innocents*, recevoient sur le derriere quelques claques, et quelquefois un peu plus quand le sujet en valoit la peine. Cela ne se pratique plus aujourd'hui (1731); nous sommes bien plus sages et plus reserves que nos peres." ŒUVRES DE CLEMENT MAROT.—*Epigramme* 135,—p. 290. Tome Seconde. 4to. A. La Haye, 1731.

‡ BOURNE'S ANTIQUITATES VULGARES, chap. xviii. p. 163.

§ BRAND'S POPULAR ANTIQUITIES, vol. i. p. 295.

‖ "That it is not good to put on a new sute, pare one's nailes, or begin anything on a Childermas Day." *Melton's Astrologaster:* p. 46. 4to. 1620.

proof that such weakness was not confined to the people, we have Edward the Fourth putting off his coronation to a Monday because the preceding Sunday happened to be Childermass Day.*

The lawyers of Lincoln's Inn appear to have kept this feast with ceremonies peculiar to themselves; but Dugdale's account is so concise—as if writing on a subject familiar at the time to every one—we now can make out little more than that there was a king of their revels called the *King of Cockneys*, and had been a *Jack Straw*, who with all his followers was in his day forbidden. The whole passage is curious and well worth transcribing as indicative of the manners of the time: "The first order wherewith I have met, which maketh any mention of these solemnities in this House was in 9 H. 8, it being then agreed and ordained, that he who should after that time be chosen King on Christmass Day ought then to occupy the said room if he were present; and in his absence the Marshall for the time being, by the advice of the *Utter Barristers*,† present to name another.

"And for learning of young gentlemen to do service, that the Marshal should sit as king on New Year's Day, and have like service as on Christmas Day; and the Master of the Revell during dinner time supply the Marshal's room.

* See FENN'S PASTON LETTERS, with the note. Letter v.—Edward IV. vol. i. p. 234.

† "UTTER BARRASTERS *(Jurisconsulti)* are such who for their long study and great industry bestowed upon the knowledge of the common law are called out of their contemplation to practice, and in the view of the world to take upon them the protection and defence of clients. In other countries they are called *Licentiati in Jure*. They are called UTTER BARRASTERS, i. e. pleaders *ouster* the bar, to distinguish them from Benchers, or those who have been readers, who are sometimes admitted to plead within the bar, as the king's, queen's, or prince's counsel are." BLOUNT'S LAW DICTIONARY.

"Moreover that the *King of Cockneys* on Childermasse Day should sit and have due service; and that he and all his officers should use honest manner and good order, without any wast or destruction-making in wine, brawn, chely,* or other vittaills; as also that he and his marshal, butler, and constable-marshal should have their lawful and honest commandments by delivery of the officers of Christmass; and that the said *King of Cockneys,* ne none of his officers medyll neither in the buttry, nor in the Stuard of Christmass his office, upon pain of xi^{s} for every such medling. And lastly that Jack Straw and all his adherents should be thenceforth utterly banisht, and no more to be used in this house, upon pain to forfeit for every time five pounds, to be levied on every fellow happning to offend again this rule.†

That the custom of *was-hael* prevailed among the heathen Saxons is abundantly clear, but the introduction of Christianity did not at all tend to its abolition, though

* *Chely,* from the Latin, chelæ, is here used for shell-fish in general.

† Sir W. Dugdale's Origines Juridicales, p. 247. Folio: London, 1666.—In those days every amusement and indulgence was granted to the law-students, possibly with the idea of attracting others to a pursuit in itself so little inviting. *Masks,* and *revels,*—another name for dances—were not only permitted at certain seasons, but enjoined; or, as Dugdale tells us, "they were thought very necessary and much conducing to the making of gentlemen more fit for their books at other times." If the young lawyers neglected this essential part of their profession they were visited with pains and penalties well calculated to set all their legs in motion, though one would scarcely have imagined that compulsion in such a case could be at all requisite. "By an order made 6th Feb. 7th Jac. it appears that the *Under-Barristers* were by decimation put out of commons, for example's sake, because the whole bar offended by not dancing on Candlemass Day preceding, according to the antient order of this society, when the judges were present; with this, that if the like fault were committed afterwards, they should be fined or disbarred." Idem, 246.

it quickly gave the practice a religious character, and the wassel-bowl, placed on the tables of abbots at the upper end of the refectory to be circulated at their discretion, now assumed the honourable appellation of *Poculum Charitatis.* In those days the liquor it contained was sometimes Metheglin or Mead, but more frequently Hippocras, that is wine spiced and sweetened. To these succeeded the Lamb's-wool already mentioned; the master of the house, having first drunk of the capacious bowl, handed it to his nearest neighbour, who in turn passed it to him that sate next, and thus it went round till the merry chiming of the village bells warned them all that they had drunk the Old Year out and the New Year in. The custom, mutatis mutandis, still exists in many parts of the country, and even among some classes in the metropolis.*

The wassail bowl not only formed a principal feature in the evening's banquet, but it was made a means amongst the humbler classes of obtaining little presents in money from their wealthy neighbours. The young women at an early hour of the evening would go about singing from house to house with a large bowl of spiced ale, a custom which has afforded Selden a happy illustration when speaking of papal gifts—" the Pope in sending relicks to princes does as wenches do by their wassels at New-Year's Tide; they present you with a cup, and you must drink of a slabby stuff; but the meaning is, you must give them moneys, ten times more than it is worth.'' †

A similar custom existed in Cumberland among the children, who went the round of the houses with a ditty

* There is a very interesting paper on this subject by Milner in the 11th volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 419.

† Table-Talk—*The Pope*, p. 43. 4to. London, 1689.

craving the bounty, "*they were wont to have in old king Edward's days.*" Hutchinson, who is the narrator of this custom,* then adds, "There is no tradition whence this custom arose; the donation is twopence, or a pye, at every house. We have to lament that so negligent are the people of the morals of youth, that great part of this annual salutation is obscene and offensive to chaste ears. It has certainly been derived from the vile orgies of heathens."

New Year's Eve—Singin-E'en; *December* 31st.—The last of these names is peculiar to Fife, and is supposed by Jamieson to be derived from the carols sung on this evening.†

To this day also belongs the *Hogmanay*, *Hogmenay*, or *Hagmena*, which has been supposed, and not without some appearance of reason, to be a corruption of a Druid rite, while the word itself would seem to have come to us from Normandy. *Gue*, or Guy is the Celtic name for oak, and Keysler tells us that on the 31st of December the boys and youths go about the towns and villages, begging for gifts, while by way of wishing a happy New-Year they cry, "Au Guy L'An Neuf—'To the Mistletoe, the New Year's come;' by which word they designate not only the season but the gift received."‡ Others however

* Hutchinson's History of Cumberland, vol. i. p. 570, note. 4to. Carlisle. 1794.

† Jamieson's Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language.

‡ "Quotannis pridie Calendas Januarias pueri atque adolescentes vicos villasque obeunt, carmine stipem petentes sibique atque aliis, pro voto in exordio novi anni exclamantes Au Guy L'An Neuf; h. e. 'ad viscum, novus annus adest,' qua voce etiam non solum tempus illud, sed et donum acceptum denominant."—Antiquitates Septentrionales et Celticæ, A. J. G. Keysler.—*De Visco Druidum.* p. 305. 12mo. Hannoveræ, 1720. The word is explained in a similar way by Carpentier in his continuation of Du Cange—"Haguillenne: Présent qu'on faisoit aux jeunes gens la veille du nouvel an,

have assigned a very different origin to this word, deriving it from *ἁγια μήνη i. e. sacred month*, which according to them was the name given to December by the monks and friars, who used on the last day of the year to go about begging, while they recited a kind of carol, every verse of which was introduced by the phrase, *ἁγια μήνη*. This they say was in allusion to the birth of our Saviour.* It may be so; but here are many assertions without the shadow of a proof, and after all the explanation seems too far fetched to be true.

In Scotland the custom prevailed till very lately, if indeed it has ever ceased entirely to exist, of distributing sweet cakes and a particular kind of sugared bread for several days before and after the new year; and on the last night of the old year, especially called *Hagmenai*, the social meetings made a point of remaining together till the clock struck twelve, when they all rose up, kissed each other, and wished a happy new year around. Children, and others, went about for several nights from house to house in *guisarts*, or *guisards*, that is to say in masquerade disguises, singing at the same time;

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ou de certaines fêtes de l'annee," gifts made to young people on the eve of the New Year, or on certain other annual festivals.—So too Cotgrave: "*Au guy l'an neuf*; the voice of countrey people begging small presents, or new-yeare's gifts in Christmas; an ancient tearme of rejoicing derived from the Druids who were wont the first of January to goe into the woods, where having sacrificed and banqueted together they gathered misletoe, esteeming it excellent to make beasts fruitfull, and most soveraigne against all poison."

The word thus spelt certainly does not seem to come very near our Hagmena; but then it should be recollected that it was not always so written; in Touraine they say, *Aguilanneu*; in Spain, *Aguinaldo*; in Lower Normandy, *Hoguinanno*; which words differ well nigh as much from each other as they do from the term in use amongst ourselves.

* See GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE for June, 1790, p. 499, vol. lx. part 1.

"Rise up, good wife, and be no swier*
To deale your bread as long's you're here;
The time will come when you'll be dead,
And neither want nor meal nor bread."

The *Wassail-bowl*, or *cup*, though it figures also on Christmas Eve, seems to be now more particularly in its proper place. *Lambs-wool* was the legitimate drink presented in the wassail-cup, a compound already described as consisting of ale, nutmeg, sugar, toast and roasted crabs, or apples. The phrase has been derived by some from the Saxon *wæs hæl*, i.e., "be in health," which seems to be probable enough, when unaccompanied by Verstegan's silly fable in proof of it.† But the custom of drinking healths has prevailed in other times and amongst

* *I.e.* "Don't be slow to give your bread while you are here." SWIER is from the Anglo-Saxon, *swær*, i.e. *slow* or *slothful*; DEALE is from the Anglo-Saxon *dælan*, to divide; but it is more commonly written, DOLE.

† The tale repeated by Verstegan with so much unction is as follows: "As this lady (Rowena or Ronixa) was very beautiful, so was she of a very comely deportment, and Hingistus, having invited King Vortiger to a supper at his new-builded castle, caused that after supper she came forth of her chamber into the king's presence, with a cup of gold filled with wine in her hand, and making in very seemingly manner a low reverence unto the king, said, with a pleasing grace and countenance, in our antient language, *was heal, hlaford leyning*; which is, being rightly expounded according to our present speech, *be of health Lord king*; for as WAS is our verb of the præterimperfect tense, or præterperfect tense, signifying *have been*, so WAS being the same verb in the imperative mood, and now pronounced *wax*, is as much to say, as *grow*, *be*, or *become*; and WAES HEAL by corruption of pronunciation afterwards became to be WASSAIL. The king, not understanding what she said, demanded it of his chamberlain, who was his interpreter, and when he knew what it was, he asked him how he might again answer her in her own language; whereof being informed, he said unto her, DRINC HEAL, that is to say, *drink health*." VERSTEGAN'S RESTITUTION OF DECAYED INTELLIGENCE. chap. v., p. 138. 8vo. London, 1673.

other people. The Greeks might have been the originators of toasting, and at all events the custom prevailed amongst them; they drank to the Gods, to the magistrates, to each other; and the Christians only followed their example when they drank in honour of St. John the Baptist, or, in the name of the blessed archangel St. Michael, to which the compotators responded by a devout "*amen!*" So too the old Danes drank to Thor, Woden, and their kindred deities; and, when converted to Christianity, they only changed the object, drinking on Christmas day to St. Olave who had converted them, or otherwise as the case might be, while the Icelanders drank to Jesus Christ, and even to God the Father. Bumpers are of remote antiquity as we read in Athenæus. Sometimes when the Greeks drank to the health of any one they sent him an empty cup; at others the toaster would taste the wine and send it round to the person whom he saluted. In toasting a mistress, they emptied as many cups as there were letters to her name.

Superstition also had its share in this day, as any one will readily imagine. "Those who have not the common materials for making a fire, generally sit without one on New-Year's day: for none of their neighbours, although hospitable at other times, will suffer them to light a candle at their fires. If they do, they say that some one of the family will die within the year."*

Christmas in all parts of the christian world has ever been noticed as the season of good cheer, and no where more so than in England. Mince-pies, Christmas-pies Plum-porridge, the Hackin, the Boar's head, and the Turkey may be reckoned among the more peculiar additions to the Christmas table. *Mince-pies*, it is unnecessary to describe even in the present day. The *Christmas-*

* Gentleman's Magazine, for May, 1811, vol. lxxxi. part 1.

pie, though sometimes confounded with it, was evidently a somewhat different compound, being, as Misson tells us, "a most learned mixture of neats' tongues, chicken, eggs, raisins, lemon and orange peel, various kinds of spicery, &c."* In the north of England, however, a *goose* is always a principal ingredient in this pie, which according to Selden was "in shape long, in imitation of the Cratch."†

Plum-porridge was "a sort of soup with plumbs, which is not at all inferior to the pye;"‡ but notwithstanding this testimony of the traveller Misson to its excellence, the dish has well nigh fallen into disuse.

The *Hackin* is a great sausage which "must be boiled by day-break, or else two young men must take the maiden, (i.e. the cook,) by the arms and run her round the market-place 'till she is ashamed of her laziness."§ The word is a Northumberland provincialism for *sausage,* and is derived by Ray from the Anglo-Saxon, *gehæcca,* which literally signifies *cut or hacked to pieces.*

Next on the list of dainties comes the soused boar's head, which was antiently the first dish on Christmas-day, and was ushered in with its peculiar and appropriate carol. Holinshead says that in the year 1170, upon the day of the young prince's coronation, King Henry the First "served his sonne at the table as sewer, bringing up the *Bore's* Head with trumpets before it, according to the manner."‖

* Misson's Travels over England; translated by *Ozell,* p. 34. 8vo. London, 1719.

† Selden's Table-Talk.—*Christmas.*—p. 11. The Cratch of which Selden speaks, or Cracche, as it is sometimes written, signifies a *crib, rack,* or *manger;* it is derived from the old French word *creche.*

‡ Misson's Travels, as above.

§ Brand. vol. i. p. 288.

‖ Chronicles, iii. 76.

Of the turkey, the plum-pudding, or the knightly Sirloin it is unnecessary to speak.

The *Yule-Dough,* or *Dow,* though scarcely coming wt hin the list of edibles, can not be more appropriately mentioned than on the present occasion. In Durham it is called a *Yule Cake,* and indeed it frequently is such in reality, though according to its proper sense it is merely a mass of flour tempered with water, salt, and yeast, and kneaded into the form of a little baby. This is probably the same thing which Ben Jonson in his MASQUE OF CHRISTMAS calls a BABY-CAKE,* and is a custom now either totally laid aside in this country, or confined only to children. In Picardy they had the name of *Cuignets,* and were presented on the Nativity by farmers to their landlords;† in Sweden and Norway they were called *Julklapp,* that is to say *Yule gifts,* and received this appellation because the bearer of them announced his presence by beating at the door of the house for which the present was intended.‡

To this festive season belonged also in olden times, the *Mysteries,* the *Hobby Horse, Mumming,* the *Lord of Misrule* and some other ceremonies; but each of these subjects would require a lengthened discussion, and I have already far exceeded my proposed limits; they must therefore be reserved for another and better opportunity.

* Ben Jonson is giving a description of the sons and daughters of Christmas, who enter ten in number.—"BABY-CAKE, drest like a boy in a fine long coat, biggin, bib, mukender, and a little dagger; his usher bearing a great cake, with a bean and a pease." Gifford's Edition of BEN JONSON'S WORKS. Vol. iii.—p. 275.

† See DUCANGE'S GLOSSARY, sub voce, *Panis Natalitius.*

‡ "JULKLAPP, dona *Julensia;* à feriendo ita dicta, quia is, qui ea apportabat, portas pulsando adventum suum annuntiabat." GLOSSARIUM SUIO-GOTHICUM. a *J. Ihre,* sub voce "*Julklapp.*"

POPULAR CUSTOMS, &c.

ROAST-MEAT CLOTHES.—This was at one time a cant phrase for *holiday-clothes*, as appears by the following passage from an old chap-book,—that is, one of those fugitive publications which were sold in the streets and at stalls, and found their most frequent purchasers in the humblest classes of society—"How he pleased her that night I can not tell, but the morning was ushered in with a mighty storm, only because Simon put on his *roast-meat cloaths*. Thus she began the matter: 'Why, how now, pray? what is to day that you must put on your *holyday cloaths?* with a pye-crust to you? what do you intend to do, say you? tell me quickly.... '*

Blossoms Inn.—"Our jolly clothiers kept up their courage, and went to Blossom's Inn, *so called from a greasy old fellow*, who built it, who always went nudging with his head in his bosom winter and summer, so that they called him the picture of old Winter; but this old greasy berward † had a liquorish tooth; he had a handsome wife, who married him for what he had."‡

* THE MISFORTUNES OF SIMPLE SIMON—Chap. i. 12mo. London; no date.

† That is, Bearward, literally a keeper of bears, but which was often used metaphorically, as in the present instance, to signify a coarse, brutish fellow.

‡ HISTORY OF THOMAS OF READING—Chap. ii. London; no date.

It is a little singular that throughout the whole tale the host's name should be written *Bosom* and not *Blossom*, except only in the one place above quoted.*

Peine Forte et Dure.—"When a felon punishable with death takes a resolution not to make any answer to his judges,† after the second calling upon he is carried back to his dungeon and is put to a sort of rack called *Peine Forte et Dure.* If he speaks, his indictment goes on in the usual forms; if he continues dumb, they leave him to die under that punishment. He is stretched out naked upon his back, and his arms and legs drawn out with cords and fastened to the four corners of the dungeon; a board, or plate of iron, is laid upon his stomach, and this is heaped up with stones to a certain weight. The next day they give him at three different times three little morsels of barley-bread, and nothing to drink; the next day, three little glasses of water, and nothing to eat; and if he continues in his obstinacy, they leave him in that condition 'till he dies. This is practised only on felons, or persons guilty of petty treason. Criminals of high treason in the like case would be condemned to the usual punishment; their silence would condemn them."‡

Auricular Confession.—It has been asserted by many

* It however serves to show that the corruption of *Blossom's Inn* for *Bosome's Inn*, had already begun, for that *Bosome* was the original name there can be no doubt; as for example:

"I left her at *Bosome's Inn*; she'll be here presently." NORTHWARD HOE! by T. Dekker and J. Webster. *Act* 2. *Sig. E.*

And again in Nash;

"Yet have I naturally cherisht it and hugt it in my bosome, even as a Carrier of *Bosome's Inn* dooth a cheese under his arme."—HAVE WITH YOU TO SAFFRON-WALDEN.—*Epistle Dedicatorie. Sig. C.* qrto. London, 1596.

† "This sometimes happens because by that means the criminal prevents the confiscation of his estate." MISSON'S TRAVELS IN ENGLAND. *Translated from the French by Ozell*, p.217. 8vo. London. 1719.

‡ Idem.

that *Auricular Confession* originated in the very earliest periods of the Christian Church; but in reality it does not appear to have existed before the time of Pope Innocent the Third, the successor of Victor the First, and who was raised to the popedom about the year 197.* It arose thus. Pope Zephyrinus had ordained that all Christians having obtained the age of puberty should communicate once a year at Easter. This in itself was a tolerable aggression on the rights of individuals, supposing individuals to have any rights; but it seems to be the nature of power, as it is of the sea, that when it does not recede it must encroach; and Innocent on his accession to the papal chair, not being satisfied with this hold upon the people, changed it into, or rather superadded to it, the confession of sins. This fact is distinctly stated by Platina,† and is also mentioned by John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, in one of his many ferocious attacks upon the Roman Catholic Church. "Confession," exclaims this apostle of intolerance, "is also a laudable ceremonye of yours, and was *fyrst admitted by Pope Innocent* in the most pestylēt counsell of laterane for a mayntenance of your markett." ‡

* Langley Defresnoy says he was elected on the 25th of September, 197, but Godescard places his elevation in the year 202. According to Platina, he died in the time of the Emperor, Severus—"moritur Severi tempore." He was succeeded by Calixtus the First.

† "Idem (Zephyrinus) præterea instituit ut omnes Christiani annos pubertatis attingentes singulis annis in solenni die Paschæ publicè communicarent. Quod quidem institutum Innocentius Tertius deinceps non ad communionem solum, verum etiam ad confessionem delictorum traduxit." PLATINA DE VITA PONTIFICUM.—*Zephyrinus*, p. 20; 4to. Venetiis. 1562.

‡ YET A COURSE AT THE ROMYSHE FOXE. *A Disclosynge of the Manne of Synne.* By John Harryson, p. 21, 12mo. Zurich, 1543. Harryson was one of the most frequent of the many names assumed by Bale in his constant attacks upon the Roman Catholics. It is most likely that the place also of publication has been fabricated,

I can not quit this subject without again adverting to Zephyrinus. He was a perfect martinet in ecclesiastical ceremonies, and busied himself not a little in adding to the external pomp and show of his Church, matters in which he appears to have taken a singular delight. Before his time the sacramental cup had been of wood, but he ordained that it should be made of glass, and subsequent popes improved upon his arrangement, forbidding the use of either material; it was not to be of wood, on account of the rarity of the sacrament; nor of glass, because of its fragility; nor of any common metal, because of the bad flavour thus communicated; but of gold, or silver, or of tin, as appears from the canons promulgated by the Councils of Rheims and Tribur.*

Kichel Cake.— "*Kichell,* a cake, which Horace calleth *libum,*† and with us is called a God's Kichell, because godfathers and godmothers used commonly to give one of them to their god-children when they asked blessing. This word is in the *Sompnour's Tale.*"‡

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and that the pamphlet was really printed in London. If any reader is at all curious to learn how mild and decent a bishop can be, he should turn to some of this writer's pamphlets; Billingsgate may match, but it cannot surpass, the rabid coarseness of the prelate.

* "Statuit item ut consecratio divini sanguinis in vitreo vase, non autem in ligneo ut antea fuit. Hæc quoque institutio sequentibus temporibus immutata est. Vetitum enim est ut neque in ligneo fieret propter raritatem quâ sacramentum imbibitur; neque in vitreo, propter fragilitatem; neque ex metallo ob tetrum saporem quem inde concipit; sed fieri voluere ex auro, argentove, aut ex stanno, ut in Triburiensi (i. e. Tribur between Menz and Oppenheim) et Remensi Concilio scriptum apparet." PLATINA DE VITIS PONTIFICUM— Zephyrinus, p. 20. 4to. Venetiis; 1562.

† "Utque sacerdotis fugitivus liba recuso."
Q. Horatii Flacci Epist. Lib. i. Epist. x. v. 10.

‡ AUBREY'S REMAINS OF GENTILISME AND JUDAISME, p. 103. MS. folio. *Bibl. Lansdowniana.* Num. 231—77, c.—Brit. Museum.

The following is, I suppose, the passage alluded to by Aubrey, though in his usual careless way he has given no reference;

I must confess myself however, unable to perceive the resemblance of the *libum* to the *kichell-cake* of our ancestors, unless it is that Aubrey means to say they are alike in composition, no very probable assertion. Their purposes are totally different, the *liba* being cakes offered to Bacchus, Ceres, Pan, &c., and devoured by the priests and their servants. They were made, according to the best authorities of flour, oil, and honey, which I should hardly think was the case with the *kichell-cakes*, and were offered up in such abundance that the servants of the priests grew as tired of them as the Scotch Highlanders are said to be of salmon. Hence the simile of Horace, and his crying out for bread instead of honey-cakes.*

The Nine Worthies.—The *Nine Worthies* belong to poetry, and to that class of history, which without exactly ceasing to be fabulous yet verges on the real. Our old dramatists are frequent in their allusions to them. Thus in *Beaumont and Fletcher* a boaster says,

> "—— When it is spread abroad
> That you have dealt with me, they'll give you out
> For one of the Nine Worthies." †

"Yeve us a bushel whete, or malt, or reye,
A Goddes kichel, or a trippe of chese."

v. 7328.

i.e. "Give us a bushel of wheat, or malt, or rye, a God's kichel, or a small bit of cheese." The explanation of the word, given by Aubrey, is also in Speght's edition of Chaucer. It is however denied,—and I think with great justice, by Tyrwhitt, who says that the phrase is French. The addition of *God* would indeed seem to have been common among the pious rustics, when speaking of many other things; as, "*un bel ecu de Dieu*," "*ce pouvre enfant de Dieu*," "*une bonite aumone de Dieu*," all of which phrases are in fact Hebraisms. As to the derivation of *kichell*, of which neither Aubrey nor Tyrwhitt have said a word, it is from the German diminutive KÜCHELCHEN, (pronounced *kichelchen*) i.e. "a little cake.

* "Pane egeo, jam mellitis potiore placentis."

Q. Horatii Flacci Epist. Lib. i. Epist. x. v. 10.

† THIERRY AND THEODORET. Act ii. sc. iv.

These Worthies were in general, but not always, considered to be prefigured by Joshua, Judas Maccabæus, and David, for the Jews—Hector, Alexander the Great, and Julius Cæsar, for the classic times—Charlemagne, Godfrey of Bouillon, and King Arthur, for the days of chivalry. We find them all mentioned in Middleton's Masque of *The World Tost at Tennis.*

> "Leave awhile your Thespian springs,
> And usher in those more than kings;
> We call them *Worthies,* 'tis their due;
> Though long time dead, they live by you.

Enter at three several doors the NINE WORTHIES, *three after three, whom, as they enter,* PALLAS *describes.*

> These three were Hebrews;
> This noble duke* was he at whose command
> Hyperion rein'd his fiery coursers in
> And fixed stood o'er Mount Gilboa;
> This Mattathias' son,† the Maccabee,
> Under whose arm no less than worthies fell;
> This the most sweet and sacred psalmograph;‡
> This§ of another sort, of much less knowledge,
> Little less valour, a Macedonian born,
> Whom afterward the world could scarcely bear
> For his great weight in conquest;‖ this, Troy's best soldier;¶

* The noble Duke is Joshua, and the allusion, I need hardly say, is to his having caused the sun to stand still upon Gibeon. The word *Duke* is here used in its old meaning of DUX, a *leader,* from which it is derived.

† i. e. Judas Maccabeus.

‡ i. e. David.

§ In Dyce's edition it is, *these.* Wherever it is possible for him to blunder, he is sure to do so, and yet there are people mean enough, or ignorant enough, to bedaub him with their worthless praise, and almost put him on a level with Gifford. Well and wisely says the old proverb, "asinus asinum fricat."

‖ i. e. Alexander the Great.

¶ i. e. Hector.

This, Rome's first Cæsar;* these three of latter times
And to the present more familiar;
Great Charles of France;† and the brave Bulloin
Duke;‡
And this is Britain's glory,§ king'd thirteen times."‖

I have already observed that this, though the usual, was not the invariable, way of nominating the worthies. Flattery would sometimes turn out a hero from his niche, and exalt into his place an individual of much inferior reputation. Perhaps the worst instance of the kind is the elevation of the bloated and heartless tyrant, Henry the Eighth, into a worthy.¶ Sometimes too the caprice of poets or romancers would displace one of these legitimates for the sake of a favourite knight, though on such occasions the change was the less objectionable, as the substitutes were generally proper men enough. In a manuscript in the British Museum, we find "Sir Guy of Warwickk," superseding Godfrey of Boulogne, the said manuscript giving us the armorial bearings of the worthies, a great improvement upon our previous knowledge of heraldry.**

The ladies also had their worthies, and we find them recorded by Chaucer. According to him they were—*Quene Sinope; Ladie Hippolyte; Ladie Deiphile; Ladie Teuca; Quene Penthesilea; Quene Thamyries; Ladie Lampede; Quene Semiramis;* and *Ladie Menalippe.* As this goodly troop is for the most part made up of strangers, it may not be amiss to hear what the old poet himself has to say for his Lady-Worthies, and the rather as, with

* i. e. Julius Cæsar.

† i. e. Charlemagne.

‡ i. e. Godfrey of Boulogne.

§ i. e. King Arthur.

‖ The Works of Thomas Middleton. Vol. v. p. 177.—*The World Tost at Tennis.*

¶ See the *Introduction* to Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, p. 27.

** MS. p. 7, No. 2220. Harleian Catalogue.

the exception of his CANTERBURY TALES, his works are too much neglected now-a-days.

*Quene Sinope.**

Profulgent in preciousnes, O Sinope the quene,
Of all feminine berynge the sceptir and regalie,
Subduyng the large countrie of Armenie as it was sene,
For maugre their mightis thou ybrought them for to applie
Thin honor to encresin, and thy power to magnifie.
O most renoumid Hercules, with al thy pompous boste
This princes toke the prisonir and put to flighte† thine hoste

Ladie Hippolyte.‡

Yet Hercules wexed red for shame when I spake of Hippolyt,
Chief patrones and captain of the peple of Sinope,
Which with her amorous chere and with coragious might
She smote the unto the ground for all thy cruiltie;
Wherefore the Dukeship of Diamedes and dignitie
Unto her grete laude and glorie perpetuall
Attributid by all is with triumphe laureall.

Ladie Deiphile.§

The most noble triumphe of this Ladie Deiphile
In releve and succor of the gret Duke of Athenis;
She chastisid and brought into perpetual exile
The aureat citizeinis of the mightie Thebis;
The stronge brasin pilliris there had no reles,
But she with her sister, Argife, them doune did cast
And with furious fire the cite ybrent at last.

Ladie Teuca.

O pulchrior sole‖ in beautie and full ylucident,
Of all feminine creturis the most formous¶ flour

* A mythological daughter of the Æsopus, by Methone.

† Urry reads in his edition, *fighte*, evidently a typographical blunder.

‡ HIPPOLITE is only another name for ANTIOPE, the queen of the Amazons.

§ *Deipyle*, rather—the wife of Tydeus and mother of Diomedes; she was also the daughter of Adrastus.

‖ i. e. "O brighter than the sun." Chaucer here drags in, with no very good taste, a phrase from the Latin.

¶ i.e. FORMOSE, *beautiful*, an obsolete word from the Latin, *formosus*. Of the lady herself I never heard before.

In Italy reigning with gret chevalry right fervent,
Chastised the Romainis as maistris and conquerour,—
O Lady Teuca, mochil was thy glorie and honour;
Yet mochil more was to commende thy grete benignitie
In thy perfite living and virginall chastitie.

*Quene Penthesilea.**

O ye Trojanis, for this noble quene, Penthesila,
Sorrowe her mortalitie with dolorous compassion,
Her love was towardis you so pregnant and fertile,
Which that against the proude Grekis made defension;
With her victorious hand was al her affection
To lashe the Grekis to ground, and with their hert is joie
To revengin the coward deth of noble Hector of Troie.

Quene Thamyris.†

O thou most rigorous quene, Thamyris invincible,
Upon the strong and hideous peple of citees reining
Whiche by thy grete power and by wittis sensible
Ytokist in battaile captive Cyrus, the grete King
Of Persia and of Media, his hed in blode lying;
Thou biddest him to drinkin of the blode he had thurstid,
And xxii M.‡ of his hoste there were distressid.

* A queen of the Amazons, who was slain by Achilles at the siege of Troy.

† *Thomyris, Tameris,* or *Tomeris.* Chaucer must have been sadly put to it for female worthies, when he elevated this fury to the rank of one. She was a queen of the Massagetæ, who, having defeated Cyrus and killed, according to Justin, two hundred thousand of the Persians, cut off his head and flung it into a vessel full of blood, exclaiming "satiate yourself with the blood for which you thirsted and of which you were always insatiable,"—satia te sanguine, quem sitisti, cujusque insatiabilis semper fuisti." (JUSTINI HIST. Lib. i. Cap. v.) Herodotus however has recorded that she condemned him to be crucified, which does not much mend the matter, though to be sure the Persian monarch had slain her son and Heaven knows how many of her barbarous subjects in a night-attack, which may be some excuse for her Scythian ferocity.

‡ M. i.e. MILLIA, thousands—twenty two thousand of his host were slain.

Ladie Lampedo.

The famous loude trumpe ymade of gold yforgid so bright,
Hath blowin so up the fame and glory environ*
Of this lady Lampedo† with her sister, Masifit,
That al the land of Feminie, Europe, and Epheson,
Be yeldin and applied lowly to her subjeccion;
Many an high toure she raisid, and ybilt touris long,
Perpetuelly to lastin with huge wallis strong.

Quene Semiramis.

Lo, here Semiramis, the quene of grete Babilon!
The most generous gem and the flour of lovily favor,
Whose excellent power from Mede unto Septentrion
Florished in her regally as a mightie conqueror,
Subdued al Barbary and Zorast‡ the king of honor;
She slue Ethiop,§ and conquer'd Armenie and Inde
In which non entrid but Alexander and she, as I finde.

Ladie Menalippe.

Also the ladie Menalippe, thy sister so dere‖
Whose martial power there was no man that coud withstand,

* ENVIRON is here used adverbially—*about*—"the trump of fame hath blown about her glory."

† Whether a *Worthy* or not, the Lacedæmonian Lampido, as the poet should have written her name, was placed by fortune in a singular position, being the daughter of a Spartan king, the wife of a Spartan king, and the mother of a Spartan king—"Una fœminarum in omni ævo Lampido, Lacadæmonia, reperitur, quæ regis filia, regis uxor, regis mater fuit," says Pliny, (Historia Nat. Lib. vii. Cap. 52,) for which he has been taken to task by his commentators, who certainly have brought together not a few cases of the same description. See Lemaire's excellent edition of the Latin Classics—Vol. lx.—p. 316. *Excursus*;—as well as the notes upon the text, p. 152. As respects the genealogy in question, Lampido was the daughter of Leotychides, the wife of Archidamus, and the mother of Agis, all Spartan monarchs.

‡ i.e. Zoroaster, a king of Bactria.

§ Speght, in his edition of Chaucer, reads "she slue *in* Æthiop." There must be some typographical blunder.

‖ The poet is any thing but clear in this passage. To whom does "*sister dere*" refer? certainly not to the Semiramis of the preceding stanzas, for she lived long after the time of Theseus. He must there-

For thorough the wide world there was not yfound her pere ;*
The famous Duke of Athenis she had in hande,
And she sorely chastised him, and conquirid his lande ;
The proude Grekis mightilie also she did assaile
And overcame, and vanquish'd them bravely in bataile.

DEATH! DEATH!

A CERTAIN Lord of Argouges, near Bayeux, was protected by a fairy, whose name has not come down to us. She helped him to overcome a giant, and in the end crowned all her benefits by marrying him and bringing him immense wealth, while the only condition she exacted in requital of so much kindness was that he should never pronounce before her the word, *death*. He promised, and as the fairy was young, rich, handsome, and intelligent, they for a long time lived very happily together upon their feudal manor. One day, however, it so happened that they were to assist at a tourney in their chateau at Bayeux. The lady's palfrey stood in waiting for her at the castle-gate, but she was too much occupied with her toilette and was not yet ready. At last she made her appearance, as brilliant by her natural charms as by her dress, when the Lord of Argouges, somewhat impatient, it may be supposed, at the delay exclaimed, "Fair dame, you would be a good one to go in search of death, for

fore mean, though the construction of the sentence is abrupt and ungrammatical, to break off from speaking of Menalippe, of whom he could know little or nothing, that he may relate the deeds, or what he chooses to consider the deeds, of her sister Antiope, the queen of the Amazons. By exactly reversing the facts of history he has exalted the lady into a conqueror; the truth is that Hercules in his attack upon these female warriors made a prisoner of her and bestowed her on his friend Theseus, according to the usual Greek mode of treating captives. This Antiope is the Hippolyte of Shakespeare's *Midsummer's Night's Dream*.

* i. e. peer, equal.

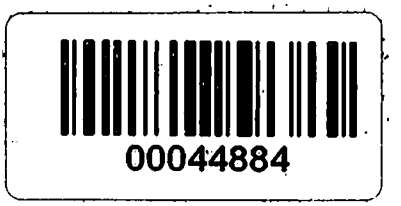
you are a long time in preparing yourself." Scarcely had he uttered the fatal word than the fairy disappeared, leaving the print of her hand above the castle-gate. Every night, however, she returns, and flits about the seigniory with loud shrieks, crying from time to time, "Death! Death!"

Two circumstances appear to have given rise to this fabulous tradition. The first is the victory that Robert D'Argouges gained over a German of very lofty stature, named Brun, during the siege of Bayeux in 1106; and the second is the arms of the house of Argouges, which had *Faith* for a crest, under the figure of a female, with the device or war-cry, "à la fé!" pronounced by the people "à la fée."

But the idea of a forbidden fruit—of something that is not to be done, or not to be enjoyed, under a certain penalty—prevails in one form or another throughout all the fairy mythology of the East, and was probably connected with the forbidden apple of the Hebrew paradise. The notion, though somewhat differently illustrated, is exactly the same in principle... It seems more particularly to have been the case in unions contracted between mortals and fairies, the indulgence of curiosity on some point of no great importance in itself being invariably prohibited on pain of forfeiting the unusual state of felicity. Thus we find it in the story of Melusina, and in so many others, the mere outlines of which would require a volume to themselves.

FINIS.

J. DARLING, PRINTER AND STEREOTYPER, WOKING, SURREY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